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ABSTRACT

A total of 486 nonfiction reports and a proportional, stratified random sample of 300 short stories appearing in selected magazines from 1911 to 1930 were examined for the extent to which they portrayed or encouraged the emancipated woman. The study tested two assumptions: one, frequently made by writers commenting on the 1920s, that magazines of that decade extensively portrayed and encouraged the emancipation of women in their political, economic, or social roles; and a second, suggested by Theodore Peterson, that commercial magazines are essentially conservative and tend to maintain the status quo. The magazines used in the study were "Atlantic Monthly," "Cosmopolitan," "Ladies' Home Journal," and "Saturday Evening Post." Although the magazines gave much attention to women's social role in both decades, most of the evidence showed a reinforcement in the 1920s of longstanding views regarding the social roles considered appropriate for women. There was no marked tendency on the part of the four magazines to portray the "flapper" or the politically, economically, and socially liberated woman in the 1920s as typical of American women or even as an ideal. As Peterson's thesis suggests and as the examination showed, many traditional norms and values were reinforced and a few innovations introduced, but the fiction and nonfiction tended to underrepresent the women's real activity and accomplishments in politics and economics, and to limit women's major social goals to those most closely related to marriage and family. (RL)

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NUMBER SEVENTY TWO

TERRY HYNES

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M. Gilbert Dunn, Douglas W. Cooper, D. Brock Hornby and David W. Leslie, "Mass Communications Research Guide" (10/19/79).

Lawrence Bowen, "Advertising and the Poor" (6/8/80).

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TERRY HYNES

Magazine Portrayal of Women, 1911-1930

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TERRY HYNES is an associate professor in the Department of Communications at California State University, Fullerton. In 1979-80 she was a visiting associate professor in the School of Journalism, University of Southern California. This study is revised from the author's dissertation in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The author expresses special thanks to Prof. Harold L. Nelson for guidance at various stages of the research and writing. The author also benefitted from suggestions by Prof. Edgar P. Trotter, California State University, Fullerton, and Prof. Mark Miller, Wisconsin-Madison.

TO THE EXTENT that any single event can be pinpointed as the beginning or end of an era, World War I has been marked by some historians as the end of the relatively tidy world of the nineteenth century and the beginning of a less certain and less ordered time which has extended into succeeding decades. In the aftermath of the war, the twenties were tagged early with stereotypical titles that writers in subsequent periods have often been limited by or have struggled against. It was, at once, "The Roaring Twenties," "The Jazz Age," "Prosperity Decade" and "The Era of the Flapper." And the events of the decade were reported and interpreted in communications media ranging from the tabloid newspaper to the little magazine.

In particular, the twenties have most frequently been reported as a time when traditional norms and restrictions concerning women dissolved or, at least, were ignored. With the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in August, 1920, every woman citizen received the right to vote for the political candidate of her choice. It has often been argued that economic independence and social liberation accompanied the enfranchisement of women and that the decade of the twenties was a kind of golden era for the "New Woman" of the twentieth century—all duly reported in the mass media at that time.

Frederick Lewis Allen's *Only Yesterday* was perhaps the most influential of the books which stereotyped the twenties and, more pertinently, women and the media portrayal of women. But other historians and commentators also contributed to the false perception. Allen saw the twenties as an era of new freedom following the ratification of the Woman Suffrage Amendment in 1920: a "first-class revolt against the accepted American order was certainly taking place during those early years of the Post-war Decade. . . ." In

Allen's view, the "revolution in manners and morals" was accelerated in part "by the growing independence of the American woman." In addition, Allen said, the new frankness in American manners and morals was accompanied by an increased openness in the mass media, especially books and magazines. Allen wrote in part:

> Even in the great popular periodicals with huge circulations and a considerable following in the strongholds of rural Methodism the change in standards was apparent. Said a short-story writer in the late nineteen-twenties, "I used to write for magazines like the *Saturday Evening Post* and the *Pictorial Review* when I had a nice innocuous tale to tell and wanted the money, and for magazines like *Harper's* and *Scribner's* when I wanted something searching and honest. Now I find I can sell the honest story to the big popular magazines too."

The significance of Allen's perspective was summarized by Burl Noggle in his 1966 historiographical essay on the twenties: "Whatever its appeal or its qualities, Allen's account, published within a year of the end of the decade, has deeply shaped historical recall of the 1920s. Merely to list the titles and sub-headings of *Only Yesterday* is to summarize an impression of the period that has long dominated history textbooks, not to mention television and movie screenplays."[1]

The persistence of Allen's views about the twenties was still evident in two essays, one by sociologist Joseph Gusfield, the other by historian Gilman Ostrander, both published in 1968. Speaking of the impact of Prohibition, Gusfield wrote in part:

> American impressions of drinking during the 1920's owe much to the description of a "lost generation" that novelists and journalists have done much to maintain. It is a picture of flaming youth in short skirts and bobbed hair dancing wickedly in speak-easies run by tough-looking gangsters. It is a picture of orgiastic drunkenness complete with wood alcohol, bathtub gin, and illicit sex. Like many myths, it mixes truth with falsity.

After a careful examination of evidence regarding various social groups, Gusfield concluded that excessive drinking among the pace-setters and style-setters of the 1920s may well have increased and that the stereotypical portrayal of "flaming youth" may be explained by the fact that the pace-setters and style-setters were "precisely those groups that were most clearly visible to the mass media of communication." Ostrander termed Allen's *Only Yesterday* "still the best account of the American flapper," and he used Allen's account as the basis of his discussion. For Ostrander, too, the changes

in manners and morals were reflected in the media. The "petting question," for example, was, said Ostrander, "anxiously discussed in ladies' magazines and elsewhere." Even historian William Chafe, otherwise judicious and illuminating regarding the roles of women in the twenties, seems less careful when discussing the portrayal of women in the media than when discussing other evidence:

> Although observers differed on the overall significance of the 1920s, almost all agreed that the age was one of unprecedented personal liberation. Magazines and novels portrayed the decade as a non-stop revel featuring jazz bands, risque dances, and uninhibited sex. As much as anyone else, the "new woman" symbolized the era. Cigarette in mouth and cocktail in hand, she appeared to be both shocking and unshockable.[2]

Much of the best remembered and most widely studied literature of the twenties underscores perceptions about women as expressed by Allen and perpetuated by others, including F. Scott Fitzerald's *The Great Gatsby*, first published in 1925.

In contrast, Theodore Peterson, after studying a wide variety of magazines of the twentieth century, concluded that commercial magazines generally were inclined to perpetuate what they perceived as the accepted social and cultural standards of the majority. In order to survive, magazines, particularly those with a wide circulation, needed to attract and sustain readership, and, under pressure to build the widest possible audience, would be unlikely proponents of changes which might threaten or alienate their readers.[3]

For specialists in communication history, these polar views compel systematic examination of the question whether or not, in fact, the mass media did portray the "flapper," or the politically, economically and socially liberated woman, as typical of American women. The purpose of this study, therefore, was to raise this question and to probe for at least a partial answer by systematically examining one segment of the mass media, namely magazines.

In light of the varying assumptions about mass media portrayal of women, these specific questions were raised and examined:

1.) How did magazine fiction and nonfiction of the 1920s portray women politically, economically and socially?

2.) What traditional norms and values, as well as what innovations, in women's political, economic and social roles were reinforced or introduced in the mass media portrayals?

3.) To what extent did the magazine portrayal of women correspond to the political, economic and social roles of women as indicated in sociological studies of

the period, in U.S. Census data, and in revised historical studies?

With the resurgence of the Women's Rights Movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s came a number of studies of the portrayal of women in various media.[4] Some of them attempted to deal with the problem historically, but the focus of many of them was determined by and limited to the thesis expressed by Betty Friedan in *The Feminine Mystique*[5] that, in women's magazine fiction of the late 1930s and early 1940s, the dominant image of the female heroine was that of the New Woman, namely a woman of independence and determination, pursuing her own vision and goals, struggling with some problem of work or the world, and only incidentally concerned with marriage and domestic affairs.

In contrast, Friedan said, the female heroines of the 1950s and early 1960s were apt to be "childlike, kittenish young housewives."[6] Because Friedan's method of analyzing short stories was haphazard, later researchers attempted more systematic examination of the content of such stories to obtain an adequate test of her hypothesis.[7] Relatively few studies have dealt with the portrayal of women in media prior to the 1930s, and those that have seem to be closely related to the evolution and refinement of research techniques, especially content analysis, adequate for examining large bodies of material.[8] No one has studied specifically whether the emancipated woman was the dominant image in the magazine fiction and nonfiction of the twenties. Nor has any researcher systematically investigated the magazines of the twenties to see how accurately the portrayal of women corresponded to social reality. In light both of the persisting stereotypes concerning the twenties and of the questions and contradictions the stereotypes raise, such a study seemed necessary.

METHOD

To make this study manageable, it was limited to magazines, and, within magazines, to fiction and nonfiction. Some magazines of the twenties provide a particularly rich mix of fiction and nonfiction, both of which deal, in different ways, explicitly and implicitly, with people, events, issues, information, attitudes and values as well as with traditions and innovations tied up in the cultural heritage. Selection of the content to be examined was carefully and systemati-

cally made so that generalizations could validly be drawn from a relatively small body of data.

Because of their variety and broad middle-class appeal, three general magazines were selected. One quality monthly was included to test whether such a magazine would portray women differently than the general magazines. The magazines chosen represent, within their respective classes, the most important kinds of wide-circulation magazines that published both fiction and nonfiction and had a relatively uniform editorial policy during the period of the study.[9] The magazines are *Saturday Evening Post*, a general weekly; *Cosmopolitan*, a general monthly; *Ladies' Home Journal*, a monthly women's magazine, and *Atlantic Monthly*, a quality monthly.

The sample of magazine issues covered 1911 through 1930, rather than 1920 to 1930, for several reasons. First, a decade is a very short time in which to look for change. Second, as McGovern has shown, the occupational shift among women from domestic to office jobs was higher from 1911 to 1920 than between 1920 and 1930, and a greater social independence accompanied women's increased participation in economic life.[10] Third, it was between 1914 and 1919 that women's suffrage groups especially intensified their efforts to get the 19th Amendment passed. After "the doldrums" of 1896 to 1910, a vigorous drive was renewed. It was sometimes even violent, but increasingly well organized and persistent.[11] The clash between suffragists and antisuffragists, or at least some of its more sensational aspects, might well have been reflected in the magazines of this period.

The decade of the tens was rich in political, economic and social change for women. While it lacks the flamboyance of the twenties, it may be that the "emancipation" was foreshadowed in the previous decade. Finally, the inclusion of that decade provided an improved perspective for evaluating media portrayal of women in the twenties. To judge whether the portrayal of women changed in the twenties, it was helpful to know how women had been portrayed in the earlier decade.

Selection of the Short Story Sample

Content analysis was chosen as the best tool for examining a large body of printed material. But the procedure for selecting the

material to be studied differed for fiction and nonfiction. To draw a sample of short stories, the universe of all short stories in the four magazines from 1911 to 1930 was determined. For each issue of a magazine that was clearly indexed (*e.g. Saturday Evening Post*, 1920-1930) the number of short stories per issue was determined by counting those listed in the table of contents. However, for magazines lacking a specific index, the number of short stories per issue was determined by paging through each issue and listing them.[12] The universe from all magazines, 1911-1930, was 8,495 short stories.

Excluded from the universe were all serials, plays, stories in letter, picture, and/or verse, parables and fables. Short short stories were defined as those of two pages or less. However, those found in early issues of *Ladies' Home Journal* were included because it published only short short stories at that time.

Short stories are relatively brief prose narratives, but so constructed as to show character development. The intrinsic spareness of the short story form requires a writer to be economical both in creating plot and in portraying major characters in a way to reveal as much as possible of their lives. These qualities make the short story an especially useful subject for content analysis.

Once the universe of stories had been determined, a proportional stratified random sample of 300 was selected for analysis to increase precision and reduce sampling error.[13] Fifteen short stories were selected randomly for each of the 20 years of the study as follows: *Atlantic Monthy*, two per year; *Cosmopolitan*, four per year; *Ladies' Home Journal*, three per year, and *Saturday Evening Post*, six per year. Thus stories from each magazine were included each year.

The major female protagonist or heroine in each story is the axis on which data were gathered. The coding instrument was constructed by combining and modifying instruments used by previous researchers.[14]

Only short stories containing at least one major female character were included, a "major female" being defined as one whose presence was central to the story's development. Stories with all male characters were not rare but few stories had female characters only. To obtain a usable sample of 300 short stories having at least one major female character each, 447 short stories had to be examined.

Selection of Nonfiction Items

A preliminary scan showed that nonfiction reports addressed specifically to the topic of women in their political, economic or social roles did not appear regularly or frequently, making it necessary to include almost all the nonfiction reports about women in each of the four magazines. Only nonfiction reports (including editorials) which dealt in a general, relatively objective manner with women in political, economic or social roles were selected. Memoirs, biographical and autobiographical sketches, and features like "The Day I Was Presented at Court" were excluded. Regular columns were also omitted because their numbers would influence results unduly. In this manner, 486 nonfiction reports from the four magazines were analyzed.

Reliability. Two types of reliability check were conducted. Intracoder checks (*i.e.* recoding the same material at different times by one person) were performed periodically. The stories and articles were read in random order to avoid any bias which might occur if read in chronological order.

An intercoder reliability check was performed on a few stories to determine the degree of agreement of persons other than the author. Nine stories were selected from the 300 for check coding, chosen in a stratified random manner. An effort was made to include at least one story from each of the four magazines and an equal number of stories from the beginning, middle and end of the time period covered in the study. The two persons who assisted the author had considerable sophistication in statistical analysis and at least some in content analysis specifically. The check coders did not know the year of publication, a precaution taken to avoid chronological bias. The overall correlation among the three coders was .885.

No intercoder check was performed on the nonfiction because the simplified coding instrument was designed to gather gross manifest content and authors' attitudes which were unambiguously stated in the articles.

To preserve the historical and literary contexts occasionally lost in coding, the most salient direct quotes were excerpted for analysis and illustration. For example, the following quotation is from a story in which the major female was coded as being "helpless, weak,

and in need of male direction." The major female says to her boyfriend near the story's end:

"You see, where I tried and failed—I, a great, strong, grown girl—he succeeded without even trying. And with that constant illustration of my own helplessness and his efficiency . . . he proved to me . . . that even a frail, small boy is more efficient than the average woman. And so, if you'll stop scolding me and finding fault with me, I'll tell you that I missed you every hour of all the days, and that I'm all ready to be taken care of."[15]

Physical descriptions also are often laden with evaluative language that could have been lost in the overall coding. For example, one major female coded as "unattractive" was described in the story in the following way: "even her own mother did not think her beautiful."[16]

The combined use of the coding instruments and liberal contextual quotation seems to provide the best method of weighing objective evidence with the author's subjective interpretation in order to evaluate the mass media portrayal of women in their political, economic and social roles.

FICTION: POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PORTRAYAL

The 300 short stories represent the work of 214 writers. Of the 209 authors whose sex could be identified, 116 (55.5%) were males and 93 (44.5%) were females. This difference is significant at less than the .10 confidence level set for rejection of the null hypothesis.[17] What is most important about the portrayal of women by male and female authors, however, is that the portrayal is substantially the same regardless of the author's sex, an impression supported by contemporary sociological studies on how socialization affects women and men.[18]

Political Portrayal

Evidence from the stories concerning women in political and economic situations is thin. The plots, as might be expected, revolve almost universally around women in some aspect of their social roles, generally in romantic situations with men.

Only 10 of the 300 stories have a plot revolving, directly or indirectly, around politics. Seven of these, including one World War I story, were published between 1911 and 1920. Of the other three,

one was published in 1925 and two in 1930. Five of the 10 directly relate to woman suffrage, and four of these five were published between 1911 and 1916. The only pre-1920 suffrage story which does not overtly oppose that cause is a 1913 *Atlantic* story.[19]

In three of the five suffrage stories the heroine's involvement in politics is undercut by the story's resolution. For example, in one suffrage-related story, the heroine, after having spent 10 days living in a forest, trades her political activism for marriage and being cared for by her husband. As she tells him at the end: " 'I don't believe in votes for women, either. I think with you that a woman ought to be loved and protected unless she's an idiot.' "[20]

The only suffrage-related story published in the twenties, a 1923 *Post* item, portrayed two women actively fighting the local political machine to assure their candidate's election. Both heroines were single, competent, efficient, moderately aggressive and skilled businesswomen.[21] Their successful political maneuvering occurred in the only suffrage story in which women's political activism was portrayed in an unqualifiedly positive context.

Other politically oriented stories concern Russian revolutionary politics, conflict at a Dakota Indian Agency, international espionage and World War I. In the first two stories the heroine either rejects political involvement in the end or disrupts the social order by naively trusting that appearances are real. In the third, the detective heroine deftly recovers a highly valuable political document from a female thief. The crisis of the war-focused story is resolved when the heroine overcomes her apprehensions and rejoices in her husband's enlistment.[22]

A 1930 *Journal* story completes the group of sample stories with a central political plot. In this story, the heroine effectively uses to political advantage the selfish, status-conscious interests of women in her social club. She is portrayed as capable and politically sophisticated.[23]

Although only 10 stories revolve around politics, 15 other stories mention women as somehow aware of or actively concerned with political issues. Eight were published between 1911 and 1920, seven from 1921 to 1930. In addition, as with the 10 stories involving a political plot, the attitudes reflected in stories from both the tens and the twenties are essentially the same.

In 14 of the 15 stories mentioning women aware of or actively

concerned with political issues the political problem is incidental, and women are portrayed as having more primary concerns, usually love-related, than politics; or the woman's political involvement is ancillary to that of a male politician. The one exception is a 1929 *Journal* story in which a skillful woman lawyer ingeniously proves the innocence of a mayor framed by political opponents.[24]

In only one of the 300 sample stories, a 1911 *Cosmopolitan* story, does a woman explicitly refuse any kind of discussion about or involvement in political affairs. At one point, when the heroine is told the subject of conversation is politics, she says she doesn't understand "those deep things." She refuses even to listen, saying " 'I wouldn't understand if I did.' "[25]

Three stories not mentioned above include minor but explicit depictions of women and politics. One author describes the heroine as valuing her right to vote only slightly in contrast to the freedom of frequent shopping trips to London. Another author portrays the hero as preferring a good-looking girl to one who believes in woman suffrage. In the third story, a newspaper editor-publisher dissuades a woman free lancer from writing a page on politics because, he says, women aren't interested: " 'They've got the vote and there's the end of it. A few pictures of candidates—that's all the politics they'll look at.' "[26]

In summary, 29 (9.7%) stories in the sample were concerned in some way with women's involvement in politics. Twenty-four of the 29, published both before and after ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, portrayed women as politically inept or basically uninterested in political issues and affairs. Only five of the 29 stories (two in the tens, three in the twenties) portrayed the heroine as politically competent. The difference between competent and inept women in this regard is significant at the .01 confidence level and is viewed as an important pattern in terms of historical investigation.[27] Especially noteworthy is the finding of no difference in this respect between the two decades.

To what extent does the fictional portrayal of women and politics correspond to reality between 1911 and 1930?

The small support in the fiction for the political emancipation of women seems to reflect reality fairly accurately. For example, leaders of the suffrage movement had long recognized that, although many men opposed the enfranchisement of women,

women themselves were often even more hostile.[29]

However, beginning in the late nineteenth century, the narrowness and isolation of women's lives were being eroded in part by women's participation in various clubs, generally social in nature, through which women were led to concerns outside their own homes, toward such needs as child-labor and factory legislation. The work of the women's clubs was diverse and thus not a useful index of women's political involvement. A more focused concern of the decade of the tens is the extent to which women fought for legislation granting equal suffrage. Even here, however, no clear answers are discernible.

Some leaders believed that the efforts of women were the main reason equal suffrage amendments passed in individual states. In Mary Beard's view, for example, increasing numbers of women who had helped achieve state suffrage amendments were supporting a federal amendment for equal suffrage, making legislators wary.[29] How many were involved is difficult to determine. From a variety of sources, Aileen Kraditor estimated that approximately two million women, or seven per cent of the female population in the United States in 1917, were formally associated with an organized group working for equal suffrage. But, as Kraditor comments, such numbers do not prove much because of inconsistent reporting by local organizations, and because in some locales membership in a suffrage club was a mere formality, while some active suffragists were not formally aligned to any organized group.[30]

Whatever their numerical strength, the ultimate effectiveness of the women's organizations working for a federal equal suffrage amendment is evident. They consolidated forces and approached the issue from multiple directions. For example, through participation in the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL) and NAWSA, by 1919, women trade unionists had equated the ballot with equal pay, prohibition of child labor, the end of the sweated trades—in short, with industrial freedom: "They were so successful in associating suffrage with the rights of working women that Senate opposition to the Nineteenth Amendment was interpreted as hostility to labor reform."[31] In sum, although the number of women actively involved in the cause was undoubtedly small in relation to the female population as a whole, their participation was effective.

Another way of reckoning women's political involvement is to

examine the voting record, although it is noteworthy that leaders of the movement were not primarily concerned with whether a majority of women wanted the vote or with its results. Basically, they saw the issue as one of political justice.[32] Nonetheless, such a consideration could help show to what extent the theoretical concern with justice was translated generally into a practical exercise of political rights.

Before 1917, 11 states had enacted equal suffrage legislation.[33] Statistical evidence regarding women's use of the right to vote is almost completely unavailable, however, since even where women voted, their ballots were usually not distinguishable from those of men.[34] Reports about the significance of the women's vote in the western states were mixed.[35]

Later studies were conducted to determine the degree of women's participation in the election process, especially in the years immediately after ratification. In all cases, the evidence suggested or clearly showed that the per cent of women registered and/or voting in a given location was consistently smaller than that of men and frequently under 50 per cent.[36] A "women's bloc," promised by some women and feared by many politicians, failed to emerge. Nor did women seem to vote as a unit in support of reform measures. The efforts by women's lobbying groups, which had earlier brought such victories, increasingly brought only diminished success.[37]

How, then, does the fiction portrayal compare with the scattered evidence regarding women in the real political world? First, as was noted earlier, the fiction suggests that women generally were uninterested in public affairs. Indeed, ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment by a two-vote margin in Tennessee in 1920 can hardly be said to be the millenium.

Second, it was noted that fictional women were frequently portrayed as politically inept even when they became involved in public affairs. The consistent portrayal of women in this way is in contrast to the actual situation in which women were effective not only in achieving the vote for themselves but also in helping to pass a variety of reform measures.

The evidence from the fiction sample is as mixed and elusive as is the evidence regarding the actual situation. The political emancipation of women was a long-fought, hard-won campaign with successes and failures along the way. One thing, however, seems clear.

The fiction, rather than exaggerating the extent of women's involvement and effectiveness in public affairs, shows a strong tendency to resist portraying the successful, politically emancipated woman. This is true in the fiction studied from both the tens and the twenties.

Economic Portrayal

Working heroines are portrayed more frequently in the sample stories than are politically involved women. Of the 310 major females in the sample,[14] 85 (27.4%) from as many stories are in the labor force for most of the story. As Table 1 shows, there is no significant difference in the distribuitions of working heroines between the tens and the twenties. That is to say, there was no greater tendency to portray heroines as more economically liberated with reference to occupaticnal status in the twenties than in the tens. This is true of the distribution as a whole and of each occupational category.

The occupational breakdown for fictional women indicates the variety of jobs in which women were portrayed (Table 1). ("Other" occupations included library work and professional thief.)

TABLE 1

Number of Major Females in the Labor Force

	1911-20	1921-30	Total	%
Professionals	7	10	17	20.0
Nonprofessional Managers	7	5	12	14.1
Clerical/sales	12	14	26	30.6
Actress/model	9	7	16	18.9
Blue collar	3	4	7	8.2
Other	5	2	7	8.2
	43	42	85	

$X^2 = 2.725$. df = 5, P = n.s.

Some differences in the economic portrayal of women do occur among the four magazines. Slightly more than half (14 of 26) of the heroines in clerical or sales occupations appeared in *Post* stories. None of the 12 nonprofessional major females who own their own businesses or manage a farm alone was portrayed in a *Journal* story but appear in the other three magazines.[39] The numbers are too small to permit a meaningful analysis.

Data on the marital status of major females who work are meager. Most (65 or 76.5%) of the 85 working women portrayed are engaged or single-but-not-explicitly-engaged for the greater part of the story, with a nearly equal number of single or engaged working heroines portrayed in the tens (34) and in the twenties (31).

Twenty-nine of the 65 stories in which working heroines are single or engaged end with the major female's marital status unchanged (although in some cases an engagement seems imminent or inevitable). Twenty-eight of the 65 stories end with the major female either engaged or married, but her future relationship to her job is not discussed. Seven major females explicitly give up their jobs to marry, but in one story the major female relinquishes her job as a domestic to marry the man in whose house she has been working.[40]

Also included in the seven who abandon their jobs for marriage is the only lawyer heroine in the sample. When the mayor whom she has successfully defended asks if she would give up her "profession and everything" to marry him, she replies: " 'If I'm any judge, you'll be profession enough for any hard-working girl.' " In only one story does the major female marry and keep her job. modeling for her husband, a dress designer.[41]

Only seven (8.2%) of the 85 working heroines are wives, and five of the seven appear in stories published before 1920. In three of the seven stories involving working wives, the wife works because her husband roams or has deserted her. One newlywed wife works to supplement her husband's income, but her career is not discussed. In a fifth story the writer-heroine wants to be a traditional wife and leaves her husband because he has forced her to continue writing. In a sixth story, the woman gives up her job because her husband had lost a promotion due to her working, a condition which his boss considered a sign of an unstable marriage. In the end, the heroine

admits she had felt uncomfortable and foolish working but she hated to give in.[42]

Thus, in only one of the seven stories involving working wives is the heroine a career woman—one of the rare stories in which a "working girl" is described in a complimentary way: "In the face of the girl who works, whether she be a spindle-legged errand girl or a ten-thousand-a-year foreign buyer, you will find both vivacity and depth of expression. What she loses in softness and bloom she gains in a something that peeps from her eyes, that lurks in the corners of her mouth."[43] This 1915 *Cosmopolitan* story is one of a series of stories by Edna Ferber involving Emma McChesney which appeared frequently during the mid-teens.

Twenty-one stories (10 in the tens, 11 in the twenties) in which working wives do not appear reflect some attitude about married women working outside their homes. Only two of the 21 stories show explicit approval (and even these are qualified) of working wives; these were published in the tens. In one of these, however, although the artist heroine and her fiancé approve of working wives, she agrees to give up painting when she marries him because, they decide, life is the greater art.[44] More than half (12) of the 21 stories about working wives show explicit disapproval of working wives. Eight of the 12 were published after 1920, seven of the eight from 1921 to 1925. As with the evidence regarding stories in which working wives are actually portrayed, the number of stories involved here is too small to yield useful comparisons between decades.

Evidence concerning working widows, divorcees and separated wives is sparse in the sample. Five widows (of 23 in the entire sample) and five divorcees (of six) are portrayed as actively involved in the labor force. Three from each group of five appear in post-1920 stories, but again the small numbers do not yield useful comparisons between decades. Two of the widows have inherited their husbands' businesses; one is a partner in a manufacturing firm; one is a field worker, and the fifth is a domestic, although the story's end suggests she will marry the man in whose house she works, an ending similar to that in another story mentioned above.[45]

One of the divorced women is an active feminist rejected by a daughter who favors a more traditional mother role:

"I'm not denying that thousands of women must work outside the home; I'm not denying that hundreds may be specially called to do work in and for the world. But

the mothers are not called. They must not go, unless want drives. They have the homes to make—the part of the home that is atmosphere."[46]

The daughter's attitude is essentially the one that pervades the stories from both the tens and the twenties and, as will be seen, the nonfiction as well. Although, as in the above excerpt, concessions are sometimes made to the theory that woman's place is in the home (*e.g.* mothers may work when "want drives"), usually, in concrete situations, conflicts are resolved and harmony achieved only when the woman consents to conform to the traditional role, symbolized dramatically in the story of the lawyer heroine mentioned above who renounced her career in order to marry.

Two other divorced women are actresses, an exotic, if not actually disapproved, occupation for women even in the twenties. A fourth gives up her career as an architect in exchange for a second marriage. The fifth divorcee, who had become a successful novelist since her divorce, is reconciled with her husband at story's end. No discussion of the future of her career occurs.[47]

Only three stories sampled involve working women separated from husbands. All three are post-1920 publications. (The only other separated wife appears in a 1911 *Post* story, and she does not work). In two of the three stories involving separated wives who work, the context has negative associations. For example, in one the major female is a shrewish, over-protective mother who managed her daughter's acting career and denied her the opportunity for a love affair of her own.[48] In the third the hard-working secretary is separated from a husband who gambles. He is conveniently killed, freeing her to marry another man without having to get a divorce.[49]

In summary, regarding the 13 working widows, divorcees and separated wives: only one of the five widows works at a job independent of her relationship with her former husband; the other four either inherited their husbands' businesses, work in his firm or work in his field. All five divorcees are portrayed in negative work contexts, as are two of the three separated wives. One separated wife is portrayed in a neutral work context, although the story implies that she gives up her job when she marries.

Viewed another way, the evidence regarding wives, widows, divorcees and separated women suggests that an increased proportion of stories from the twenties, as opposed to the tens, rejected labor force activity for married women either by explicit or implicit

disapproval of working wives, etc., or by causing the heroine to give up her job when she married. Ten (52.6%) of the 19 relevant stories from the tens negated work for married women, but 17 (77.3%) of the 22 relevant stories from the twenties did so. This tendency, although evident in both decades, is slightly stronger in the twenties (significant at the .10 confidence level) and does not support the assumption that women were portrayed as more economically liberated in the twenties than in the tens. The evidence suggests that the editors played down the economically liberated woman in the fiction of both decades. The data reported here thus tend to undercut the historians' assumptions noted above.

As with the political portrayal, this study was concerned not only with describing the magazines' economic portrayal of women in fiction, but whether the magazine portrayal corresponds to reality. Evidence concerning women in economic life is more readily available than it is about women's awareness of and engagement in politics. Summary census data published after the 1930 census show the following percentages of women 15 and older gainfully employed: 1910: 25.4%, 1920: 23.7%, 1930: 24.8%.[10] In the fiction sample, the following percentages of major females 15 and older were in the labor force: 1911-'20: 28.3%, 1921-'30: 28.0%.

Notwithstanding the shortcomings of the fiction sample, what is remarkable here is the close correspondence in the per cent of women employed according to the two sources. Although the comparison is flawed from a strictly statistical point of view, it does help to show that, with respect to overall per cent of women gainfully employed, the fiction does reflect relatively closely the actual situation. But the direction of difference between reality and fiction lies in an over-representation in the fiction of the per cent of women who work. This may result from a distorted marital distribution in the fiction indicated below.

Marital status of women gainfully employed is not so easily compared from one decade to another because, in the 1920 census, single, widowed, divorced and unknown women workers were reported as one group, whereas in 1910 and 1930 widowed and divorced women were reported separately, as indicated in Table 2.

The overrepresentation in the fiction occurs, basically, in the proportion of single to married women, not surprising since most of the fiction deals with romance. Partly as a result, the single women

TABLE 2

Women: 15 Years and Older, Employment by Marital Status

		Total	Number Gainfully Employed	% Gainfully Employed
1910	Single, unknown	9,001,342	4,602,102	51.1
	Widowed, divorced	3,361,296	1,147,065	34.1
	Married	17,684,687	1,890,661	10.7
1920	Single, unknown			
	Widowed, divorced	13,858,582	6,426,515	46.4
	Married	21,318,935	1,920,281	9.0
1930	Single, unknown	11,359,038	5,734,825	50.5
	Widowed, divorced	5,307,355	1,826,100	34.4
	Married	26,170,756	3,071,302	11.7

Source: Bureau of the Census, 1932

TABLE 3

Short Story Sample: Major Females 15 Years and Older
(N = 310)

		Total	Number in Labor Force	% in Labor Force
1911-20	Single, unknown	95	34	36.6
	Widowed (8), divorced (2), separated (1)	11	4	36.4
	Married	48	5	10.5
1921-30	Single, unknown	89	31	34.8
	Widowed (15), divorced (4), separated (3)	22	9	40.5
	Married	39	2	5.1

are consistently underrepresented in the fictional labor force, while the representation of fictional wives in the labor force of 1911-1920 is fairly close to that of the census data for 1910 and 1920. In 1921-1930, however, fictional wives in the labor force are underrepresented in comparison with the census data for 1920 and 1930. Widowed and divorced women, on the other hand, are overrepresented in the fictional labor force as compared with the 1930 census.

Occupational groupings of working women provided another basis for comparison. "Lower-class" occupations especially domestic work, are greatly underrepresented in the fiction. Occupations generally viewed as middle class, the class which probably comprised the greater part of these magazines' readership, dominate the labor force portrayal of fictional women, with the overriding difference between fiction and reality occurring in the high percentage of heroines portrayed in professional roles. Within the professional group, a further comparison shows more specifically where this discrepancy occurs: actresses are undoubtedly overrepresented and teachers underrepresented in the fiction. Actresses comprise an average of 47.5% of the fictional female work force as compared with an average of 1.5% of the real world female work force for 1910-1930. Teachers comprise 15% of the fictional female work force as compared with a census average of 62.7% for 1910-1930.

A rough statistical comparison of the fiction with census data thus shows considerable distortion in the fiction of the real world of employment. In comparing the fiction of the tens with that of the twenties, only two tendencies are clear, and even these are, at best, tenuous. First, in fiction of the twenties, the per cent of married women who work decreases as compared with the fiction of the tens—in contrast to census data which show an increase in the per cent of married women who work between 1920 and 1930. This suggests that the magazines in the twenties portrayed women as less economically independent. However, a second tendency shows a greater variety in the kinds of professionals portrayed in the fiction of the twenties, which implies that the magazines were portraying women as more economically liberated, at least those women of a certain class (generally middle and upper) who could afford education for the professions (e.g., the architect, lawyer and librarian heroines of 1920s stories).

The evidence is meager and contradictory, but what is most crucial to the underlying purpose of this study is that there is no startling difference in the economic portrayal in the two decades or among the four magazines. If any attitudinal tendency can be said to govern the economic portrayal generally, it is the view that a woman's concern with a job or career is secondary to her role as wife and mother, and this is true for both decades and for all four magazines.

It is important to ask whether the thematic fictional contexts (*e.g.* woman finding success and fulfillment in a career) reflect social attitudes—a much thornier problem. For example, it was noted above that 28 of 85 stories end with the working heroine married or engaged but with no discussion about whether she will continue her job, that seven end with women relinquishing jobs for marriage, that two working wives reject their jobs, and that one working divorcee is renounced by her daughter. Thus, apart from other stories with negative associations surrounding working women, 38 (44.7%) of 85 stories explicitly portray work as not integral to a woman's life. What is integral to a woman's life is suggested in the following speech by Ma Pettengill in a 1918 *Post* story:

> "How times have changed since I took my own hair out of a braid! In them fond old days when a girl didn't seem attractive enough for marriage she took up a career—school-teaching probably—and was looked at sidewise by her family. It's different now. In this advanced day a girl seems to start for the career first and take up marriage only when all other avenues is closed. She's the one that is now regarded by her brainy sister as a failure. I consider it an evil state for the world to be in . . ."[51]

Ma Pettengill's distaste may well express the reluctance with which the fiction writers and, quite likely, most people of those times accommodated themselves to changing realities about women's participation in economic life.

As with the portrayal of women in political roles, the fictional portrayal of women in economic roles, rather than exaggerating women's emancipation, underrepresents women's economic liberation and tends to resist portraying women positively as economically independent agents. This is true for the twenties as well as the tens and for the four magazines.

FICTION: SOCIAL PORTRAYAL

Events of a fictional world, no less than those of the real world,

happen within specific cultural contexts. To some extent, the physical and psychic terrain of a story's setting helps to define the kind of event which will occur. In order to determine the shape of the social portrayal, information about the external (*e.g.* socio-economic status) and internal (*e.g.* personality characteristics) terrain was elicited from stories in a systematic fashion whenever available.

The stories give little clear evidence of the socio-economic status or education of major characters and their families. Half to two-thirds of the time, information about the marital status of major females and the parent/family class of central males is not clearly indicated in the stories; and approximately 40 per cent of the time information about the parent/family class membership of major females cannot be determined from internal evidence. Thus, it is not possible to make even tentative comparisons from one decade to another regarding major females' class mobility.

The stories show educational achievement for only 56 (18.1%) major females and 79 (24.6%) central males. In stories for which the education of a central male is given, it is particularly interesting to note the relatively large cluster of college-educated central males in nearly equal proportions (73.7% in the tens, and 73.2% in the twenties) in stories for both decades.

Furthermore, six other stories, two from the tens and four from the twenties, explicitly negate or underrate the importance of woman's intelligence. For example, one mother warns her daughter, " 'Girls don't need so much brains. I always say it scares the men off.' " In another story, the secondary female's aunt describes her niece as " 'Sweet and pretty, but not overly bright. . . . So she ought to make a fine wife. Brains are an awful handicap to a woman if she expects to be happy in this life.' " A third story portrays the central male as pleased that his mystery woman has " '. . . that charming superficial knowledge that women acquire of things.' " In another story, the central male is somewhat disappointed in his wife's lack of interest in things of the mind. On balance, however, he decides that her other qualities adequately compensate for this:

> What difference, thought the man, did it make if she did not care for the things that meant so much to him? Was she not pretty enough to be allowed to dispense with intellectual pursuits? Could book-knowledge make her any more dainty and attractive than she was? Was she not *his*, his very own? Yes, he decided inwardly,

he must regard her as his recreation, the beautiful creature who was to amuse and love him when he was not working in his office or reading in his beloved library.[52]

On the other hand, the evidence shows that a greater proportion of major females in the twenties than in the tens was portrayed as having attended finishing or vocational training school beyond high school (13 of 29 or 44.8% in the twenties, 5 of 27 or 18.5% in the tens), a difference which is significant beyond the .05 confidence level. Thus, although the data show almost no change with regard to college education for woman in the two decades, the tendency of the figures is in the direction of more frequent portrayal in the twenties of heroines who have some education beyond high school.

Various commentators have suggested that external elements like smoking, drinking and the use of cosmetics were hallmarks of the flapper, the stereotype of the socially liberated woman of the twenties.[53] Yet, relatively few of the 300 stories (8% or less in each case) portray major females doing any of these three things. It is difficult to assess the absence, especially in stories of the twenties, of portrayal of these superficial touchstones of social liberation. However, the slender evidence in the stories suggests that the magazines leaned toward a neutral presentation of these activities in both decades. As one author comments of her heroine's fear that a woman wearing a big hat with plumes, diamonds in the morning, "brazen" make-up and heavy perfume might be "a bad woman, in the technical meaning of the words": "That was, of course, in the days before the Great War when there was still some difference in the way different kinds of women dressed and made up and perfumed themselves."[54]

Physical appearance is another external element which helps shape the social portrayal of women. Overall physical appearance was delineated for 236 (76.1%) of the 310 major females, and the descriptions were divided fairly equally over the two decades (115 in the tens and 121 in the twenties). In both decades the majority of heroines was described as attractive, but not exceptionally so (53.9% in the tens, 57.8% in the twenties). They are pretty but not "the most pretty," cute but not "gorgeous." Rarely is a major female portrayed as unattractive, and eight of the 14 so described are in their fifties and sixties, while two are young girls. In these cases the heroine's appearance is reported as being a function of age.

In summary regarding the external elements in the social portrayal of major females, the evidence is minimal and largely indefinite. In the most superficial and trivial aspects of the social portrayal, including heroines' physical appearance, the data show almost no change from the tens to the twenties.

Evidence is also slender for the more durable and significant external elements, including socio-economic status and education. However, the more frequent portrayal in the twenties of heroines with some education beyond high school is the one item clearly supporting the traditional historical view that the magazines portrayed social liberation as increasing for women in the twenties. The evidence for college education *per se* is, however, inconclusive in this regard.

Internal Elements Related To Social Portrayal

Deep-rooted social changes occur slowly and are more often revealed in personality portrayal and manifestations of attitude than in more peripheral, external aspects of short stories. Several items were included in the coding instrument for the short stories in order to evaluate changes in the warmth-expressiveness (*e.g.* tactful/gentle vs. blunt/rough, passive/submissive vs. aggressive/dominant) and competency aspects of the personality portrayal of major females. Interpersonal relationships between major and secondary females and between major females and central males also provided information about attitudes regarding the social role of women.

The silent, tactful/gentle, passive/submissive and socially sheltered major female who has a strong security need and is dependent on a man for adventure is the stereotype of the "old-fashioned girl," the traditional female whose destiny was to become a wife and mother. At the other pole is the stereotype of the socially liberated woman of the twenties: the talkative, blunt/rough, aggressive/dominant, socially sophisticated major female who has little or no security need and who is independently adventurous.

In the short story sample, evidence concerning such personality tendencies is interesting and at times paradoxical. For example, as shown in Table 4, only at four places does the evidence yield statisti-

TABLE 4

Per Cent of Major Females For Whom Warmth-Expressiveness and Competency Clusters are Expressed in Short Stories, on 3-Point Scale

	1		2		3		
	A*	B*	A	B	A	B	
silent	29.1	21.4	40.4	47.9	30.5	30.7	talkative
tactful/gentle	67.1	60.8	23.3	29.1	9.6	10.1	blunt/rough
passive/submissive	34.7	29.2	35.3	39.0	30.0	31.8	aggressive/dominant
strong security need	45.5	34.6	28.9	39.4	25.6	26.0	little/no security need
socially sheltered	24.3	17.3	43.0	36.4	32.7	46.3	socially sophisticated
depends on man for adventure**	9.6	18.2	9.6	5.6	75.0	76.4	independently adventurous**
serious***	9.0	6.5	58.6	48.0	29.7	40.6	giddy***

*A: 1911-20, B: 1921-30.

**Not shown are 5.8% of MFs from the tens and 1.8% from the twenties who registered equally at two or more intervals of the scale.

***Not shown are 2.7% of MFs from the tens and 4.9% from the twenties who registered equally at two or more intervals of the scale.

cally significant differences between the decades, and the four instances support the traditional historical view regarding the magazines' portrayal of women's increasing social liberation during the twenties. The "strong security need" extreme and mid-point of the same scale show differences at the .10 confidence level, and the difference on the two points of the scale is clearly due to a shift from the lower extreme to the mid-point while the higher extreme (little/no security need) remains the same for both decades. Both the "socially sophisticated" and "giddy" extremes show significant differences at the .05 confidence level. Here the shifts seem to be the result of movement out of each of the lower points on the respective scales.

Portraying women as less in need of security and as more socially sophisticated reflects a liberating trent in the stories. The "giddy" extreme permits no such clear interpretation, however, because it is more often associated with the stereotype of an appealing but feather-brained woman or girl and thus suggests a less flattering picture of women at least on this superficial level of the social portrayal.

Thus, of the seven personality dimensions represented in Table 4, three show measurable differences between the decades, and the direction of two of these three is toward liberation. On the remaining four dimensions, however, the available evidence indicates no clear change between the tens and the twenties. While the evidence in Table 4 concerning adventurous major females may seem to indicate a more liberated (independently adventurous) portrayal of heroines in this dimension than in any other, only 107 (34.5%) of the 310 major females in the sample were described as being concerned in some way with adventure; while anywhere from 228 (73.5%) to 304 (90.1%) major females were represented in each of the other items in the warmth-expressiveness and competency clusters. That is to say, compared with other dimensions of personality, a concern with adventure is relatively rare among major females in the sample. In each decade most heroines portrayed as associated with adventure are depicted as independently adventurous.

Information was also elicited from the stories to evaluate the relationships between major and secondary females and between major females and central males. It was assumed that one sign of in-

creased liberation would be major females and secondary females relating as friends or working colleagues rather than as relatives or acquaintances. Major and secondary females in each decade are more frequently portrayed as acquaintances than as friends (30.7% in the tens, 38.4% in the twenties), but this is not a statistically significant difference between decades. Furthermore, when the accidental relationships of kinship (26.4% in the tens, 27.9% in the twenties) and acquaintance are combined and set against the close friendships (24.2% in the tens, 22.1% in the twenties) the evidence suggests that heroines depend largely on their social environment rather than on their own initiative for their relationships with other women, implying that women are not encouraged to develop close relationships with other women. Further study is needed to determine if there is a significant difference between the decades.

Also, relatively few major females interact with secondary females on a mutual, equal basis. Rather, their relationships are either dominantly protective, antagonistic or serve essentially to advance the plot. The fierceness of such relationships is reflected in an excerpt from a 1929 *Journal* story in which the major female's view is that "Women were deadlier than men, and diminutive ones deadliest. They had to be. They made up in cunning and vehemence what they lacked in bulk charm, and their ways were sinister."[55] However, there is a lower proportion in the twenties of protective and non-interactive relationships between major and secondary females; and, although antagonistic relationships also tend to increase in the twenties, so do coalition. But these data are really too minimal to yield meaningful comparisons between the decades.

Relationships between major females and central males in 294 stories (six stories have no central male) show no statistically significant difference between the decades. It was assumed that one sign of greater social freedom for major females would be reflected in their taking the initiative in communicating with central males. However, the evidence shows almost no change between the decades in this regard. In the tens, 30.3% of the majors females initiated communication either directly (e.g. by speaking or writing to him) or indirectly (e.g. by dropping a scarf to attract his attention) with the central male; in the twenties, 33.8% did so.

Evidence concerning the marital status of major females also shows no significant change in direction between the decades. The

majority of major females in both (59.0% in the tens, 59.7% in the twenties) are single for most of the story. It was assumed that one sign of increased social freedom for women would be a tendency to portray more major females as living independently of a male, but the proportion of widowed, separated and divorced major females shows no significant change between decades (7% in the tens, 14.3% in the twenties). In addition, the manner in which stories are resolved as well as story contexts suggests a reinforcement of some traditional values regarding woman's role. For example, in three of the four stories of the twenties portraying heroines as divorced for most of the story, the major female marries again or is leaning toward marriage at the end of the story, and in the fourth story she refuses to marry but only because she fears that marriage with her would ruin her fiancé's chances of political success. Two of the three women portrayed as separated wives in the twenties are spoiled, manipulative women. Finally, only five of the 15 widowed heroines of the twenties are still widows at the end of the story. Two others are dead, and eight have either remarried or are leaning toward remarriage. Thus, the total context suggests that woman-living-alone is a problem to be solved rather than a condition to be encouraged.

Furthermore, the few stories expressing some attitude toward divorce show no significant change in the twenties as compared with the tens. Only 33 (11%) of the sample stories express any attitude toward divorce. Most of those from the tens (8 of 12) reflect neutrality. In the twenties, only 38.1% (8 of 21) reflect neutrality while disapproval rises from 25% (3 of 12) to 42.9% (9 of 21), but these are not statistically significant differences.

Evidence concerning attitude toward having children shows a conservative trend in the twenties with the increased conservatism significant at p less than .05. In no story from either decade are positive qualities associated with a childless wife; and, in most stories from both decades in which some attitude is expressed, having a child is viewed as fulfilling for women (24 of 36 or 66.7% in the tens, and 28 of 31 or 90.3% in the twenties), as reflected in this excerpt from a 1927 *Cosmopolitan* story in which the heroine says to the other women in the story: " 'For there's nothing so grand in the world as knowing a man wants you—and needs you—beside him. And there's nothing in the world makes you feel so good as to tuck

his baby off to sleep, and put his dinner on the table for him!' "[56] Whenever any attitude about having children is expressed, the expression is always in the direction of the importance of having children as part of a woman's life role—in stories for both decades and for all four magazines.

Of the 181 stories which focus primarily on romance, the romantic milieu could be determined for 168 (92.8%). It was assumed that an additional sign of women's increasing social liberation would be reflected in a greater proportion of romances of the twenties occurring outside a family context, a more controlled environment in stories than, for example, a job setting or a country club. In both decades more romances occur outside family contexts (44.0% in the tens, 39.8% in the twenties) than within (30.7% and 35.5% respectively) or in a milieu that shifts from family to an outside locale (25.3% and 24.7% respectively), but there is no significant difference between the decades or among the milieus.

Major females of both decades are portrayed fairly frequently as psychologically independent of central males with no significant difference in the proportion of heroines portrayed as wholly independent in the twenties as opposed to the tens (38.2% and 42.8%), or in the proportion of heroines of the twenties portrayed as manifesting some dependence on the central male although still functioning competently in his absence (54.2% and 44. 8% in the tens). Thus the evidence for both decades undercuts the stereotype of the weak, defenseless woman who pines for a man and is afraid to be alone, but shows no tendency to portray heroines as more psychologically independent in the twenties than the tens.

In summary, the evidence shows no decisive inclination on the part of these magazines to portray women as more socially liberated in the twenties than in the tens, undercuting the general historical view discussed in the introduction. In comparison with the portrayal during the tens, the data for the twenties indicate that the only statistically significant tendencies toward portraying women as more socially liberated occur with respect to increased social sophistication among heroines and a decrease in their need for security. Yet because these aspects of personality are assumed to be among the most essential elements of personality delineation, the evidence here is viewed as an important index of increased social liberation in the portrayal during the twenties.

However, story contexts and resolutions supporting the tradition that fulfillment for a woman lies in marriage and motherhood indicate a statistically significant conservative trend. Thus, the combination of external and internal elements of social portrayal does show some tendency toward portraying more liberated major females in the twenties than in the tens, notably increased education for heroines beyond high school and in the warmth-expressiveness and competency dimensions of personality. But these tendencies seem to be offset by the story contexts and resolutions which support the deep-rooted traditions regarding women's roles as wives and mothers.

Like the evidence concerning political and economic aspects of major females' lives, the data concerning social portrayal are mixed and even contradictory, but there are some stronger tendencies toward increased liberation in the social portrayal of heroines of the twenties than there are in the economic and political portrayals. However, when increased tendencies toward social liberation begin to affect the way heroines relate to other people, then the stories seem to reinforce more conservative trends. In the final analysis, no matter how independent they may seem to be, women are encouraged to believe, with the heroine of a 1928 *Cosmopolitan* story, that "'. . . I don't know much about myself—no woman does—she needs a man to advise her . . .' "[57]

Measuring the social portrayal of women in fiction against the social actualities of women in real life yields less precise information than did the comparisons of the economic and political roles of fictional and real women. Census data do show a clear, consistent increase in the proportion of women to men who received college or first professional degrees from 1910 to 1930. (In 1910 only slightly more than one fifth of the degrees granted were given to women; by 1930 they received nearly 40 per cent of all degrees granted.)[58] The fiction shows only an increase in finishing school or having vocational training beyond high school and greatly underrepresents the real situation.

The persistence in short stories of the twenties of the idea that marriage and children are women's primary source of fulfillment contrasts with census data that show stable marriage rates but a decrease in the number of children per family between 1920 and 1930.[59] In their study of Middletown, the Lynds reported that an in-

creasing number of middle-class women used some artificial method of birth control in the twenties and that most took it for granted,[60] which helps support the idea that women's sexual lives were becoming less restricted in the twenties, in sharp contrast to the increasing tendencies of the fiction.

Historical accounts of social life of the twenties have assumed that mass media focused on the flapper in the twenties, supporting such assumptions with selective evidence.[61] The data from the sample stories show no such focus in any of the magazines studied. Rather, although occasionally portraying an individually liberated woman, the evidence suggests that the magazines tended to support a more traditional role for women.

The Lynds' conclusion that the rate of change in Middletown varied widely and that the direction of change was highly erratic was solidly based on their field study. Furthermore, their perception that the citizens of Middletown learned new ways of behaving toward material things more rapidly than they learned new habits addressed to persons and non-material institutions suggests the slow evolutionary process which characterizes social change.[62]

The evidence from the short stories, mixed and contradictory as it is, also suggests this slow evolution, particularly at the interfaces of individual and interpersonal/institutional change. If one can assume that the Lynds' study reflects reality fairly closely then it also seems fair to say that the evidence from the short stories, with some tendencies toward portraying women in liberated social roles but also with a strong tendency toward portraying women in the traditional roles of wife and mother, squares with the changing social realities of the 1920s as depicted by the single richest store of information about American culture in that decade.

NONFICTION: POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PORTRAYAL

The 486 nonfiction reports selected for this study included all reports in the four magazines which dealt in a general manner with the topic of women in their political, economic and/or social roles.

Political Role of Women

The political role of women was the main focus of 66 (14%) of

the 486 reports. Of these, 33 (50%) were written by women, 13 (19.7%) by men, and 19 (28.8%) were unsigned editorials. (One author's sex could not be determined.) The numbers were about equal in each decade: 35 (53%) in the tens, and 31 (47%) in the twenties except that most of the editorials (17 or 89.5%) were published in the tens, and 13 of the 17 editorials of the tens were published in the *Post*. No editorials on the political role of women were published in the *Post* during the twenties. The other six editorials were published in the *Journal*, four in the tens and two in the twenties. If the editorials are eliminated from consideration, the data show an increase of almost 20 per cent in the reports about women and politics published in the twenties as opposed to the tens (28 or 59.6% in the twenties vs. 19 or 40.4% in the tens), an increase which occurs mainly in the *Journal*.

Of the 66 primarily political reports, 31 (47%) explicitly approve, with or without qualifications, women's increasing political awareness and/or involvement, with a tendency for this to be more true in the twenties (19 or 61.3%) than in the tens (12 or 34.3%).[43] Of the 12 explicit statements of approval during the tens, eight are from the *Journal* and four are from the *Post*.

None of the 66 reports disapproves of women's increasing political awareness or involvement. Most (19 or 54.3%) of the reports from the tens either acknowledge women's increasing political awareness or involvement without expressing any attitude, or they are written in a balanced, objective style, presenting multiple points of view, yet remaining neutral. In the twenties, however, most (19 or 61.3%) of the reports indicate approval, with only five of these qualifying the approval in any way. The differences suggest a tendency of the magazines in general (except *Cosmopolitan* which published only one relevant report over the 20-year period) to express approval strongly only after approval had become generally acceptable.

In both decades, however, most (8 or 61.5% in the tens, 15 or 75% in the twenties) of the *Journal*'s politically focused reports expressed approval of women's political awareness and involvement. Nevertheless, it is also true that the *Journal*'s positive attitude is not evident in the relevent reports until 1916. As late as 1910, the *Journal* had still strongly opposed woman suffrage, but ten years later s

Journal editorial supporting ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment gave no hint of the earlier opposition.[64]

In the *Journal*, support for women's political awareness or involvement was associated with the idea that women's demonstrated ability to work in behalf of the war effort was a sign of their patriotism and should be rewarded. On the other hand, the *Post*'s editorial support for women's political awareness or involvement occurred throughout the tens, even in the first years of the decade, and was not associated solely with women's performance during the war years.

Four of six other reports focusing equally on the political and economic roles of women approve of women's increasing political awareness and/or involvement without qualification (the other two reports do not express any attitude on this issue). One of these, published in 1919, emphasizes the need for a "feminine" perspective in politics. The other three, all written by Elizabeth Frazer and published in the *Journal* in 1922, view woman's power as crystallizing around her role as wife and mother but emphasize the importance of woman's political and economic independence if she is to fulfill her basic role within the family.[65]

Besides the 66 reports with a primarily political focus and the four with a political-economic focus which address this issue, another 64 reports reflect secondarily some attitude toward women's increasing political awareness or involvement, with a nearly equal frequency over the two decades (31 in the tens and 33 in the twenties). In contrast to the 66 reports, these 64 concerned only secondarily or marginally with that role show a decrease in the twenties in the percent of reports expressing explicit approval of women's increasing political awareness or involvement (19 of 31 or 61.3% in the tens and 14 of 33 or 42.4% in the twenties). This trend away from explicit approval in the twenties is the reverse of what one might expect, given the standard historical assumption that the magazines of the twenties portrayed women in more independent roles than in the tens. Thus, this evidence undercuts the general historical view discussed in the introduction.

The percent of the 64 reports which acknowledged women's increasing political awareness or involvement without expressing any attitude or which presented a balanced point of view increased slightly rather than decreased in the twenties as opposed to the tens

(19.3% in the tens, 27.3% in the twenties). The incidental and, at times, almost accidental or generic quality of the attitudes regarding women and politics expressed in these reports may help to account for the difference between percentages here and those in the 66 reports focusing primarily on women's political role. The evidence shows that detailed considerations elicited a larger per cent of neutral attitudes in the tens and a larger per cent of approval attitudes in the twenties than did those reports which treated the issue secondarily or marginally.

Two reports indicating unqualified disapproval of women's increasing political awareness or involvement were published in *Cosmopolitan* in 1928 and 1929. The single report indicating qualified disapproval was published in the *Journal* in 1923. Otherwise, no marked differences occur among the four magazines on this item.

With respect to suffrage, 131 (27%) of the 486 reports comment on the question of woman suffrage or, after ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, women voting. Seventy-one (54.2%) were published in the tens, and 60 (45.8%) in the twenties. Slightly more than half of those published in the tens (39 or 54.9%) express either unqualified or somewhat qualified approval of the issue. Specific opposition to militant suffragists is the main qualification in several of the reports of the tens.[46]

However, scarcely more than one-third (21 or 35%) of the reports published in the twenties explicitly approve of women voting, while slightly more than half (32 or 53.3%) simply acknowledge it as a fact. By the twenties, the suffrage issue was relatively non-controversial, and the data here, including the reduction in the number of reports of the twenties which express disapproval of women voting (1 vs. 6 in the tens), may well be a reflection of this fact.

In *Atlantic* and the *Post* most of the comments regarding suffrage appear in reports from 1911 to 1915. Those in *Cosmopolitan* are scattered over the two decades. But most (47 or 82.5%) comments on suffrage and women voting in the *Journal* were published between 1918 and 1925. About half of these (24 or 51.1%) express approval and 21 (44.7%) either acknowledge the issue without expressing any attitude or give a balanced, objective, neutral report. Only one *Journal* report during these eight years expresses disapproval.

Only 35 (7.2%) of the 486 reports express any attitude regarding women holding public office by election or by appointment. Most (26 or 74.3%) of these references were published during the twenties after the suffrage issue had been resolved legally. Almost half (12 or 46.1%) of the 26 references of the twenties approve of women holding office, although seven of these qualify their approval either by emphasizing women's need to be prepared and able to handle the job or by some other minor qualification.[67] Ten of the 12, including the five reports indicating unqualified approval, are from the *Journal*; the other two are from the *Post*. The only report from the tens which gives unqualified approval to women holding public office is a 1913 *Atlantic* article,[68] but a 1915 *Atlantic* article is also one of the two reports showing qualified disapproval of this item.[69]

Even some of those reports of the twenties which approved of women's increasing political awareness or involvement, their right to vote and/or their holding of public office suggested that women had no real political power and that they were no serious threat to existing political machines. By the mid-twenties, a number of observers had decided that the "women's block," so feared by elected officials in the late teens and early twenties, simply did not exist.[70]

Particularly in the *Journal* and the *Post*, woman's political role was approved as a natural extension of her role as housekeeper and homemaker. Various writers discussed politics as "civic housekeeping" and encouraged women to concern themselves with "women's issues" like schools, health, protection of children and girls, beautifying towns and similar problems. The abilities which made women good home managers and able to clean a physical house would be, they assented, their greatest assets in cleaning political house.[71]

The politics-as-housekeeping metaphor was used to advocate an expanded political role for women, yet its core suggests the still-prevalent idea in the twenties that women were meant first to be wives and mothers and that activities outside the home were meaningful and fulfilling for women only as extensions of the more basic role.

The data on authors' attitudes toward women and politics in the tens and twenties are mixed. Although the reports of the twenties which focused primarily on the political role of women tended to explicitly approve women's political awareness or involvement in a

greater proportion than did those of the tens, the reports which mentioned the issue incidentally tended to be less explicitly approving. Authors' attitudes toward woman suffrage and/or women voting also show a decrease in the twenties in the percentage of reports explicitly approving of women's right to vote. The attitudes toward women holding public office do show an increase in instances of approval in the twenties, but the numbers involved are very small, making it impossible to evaluate the significance of the change. Furthermore, even reports which approve of a broader political role for women frequently do so within a restricted context.

It seems fair to say that magazine reports of the twenties do acknowledge a somewhat expanded political role for women but basically only when accommodated within the traditional role of wife and mother. Again, the portrayal of women in the twenties is inconsistent with the general historical view.

Economic Role of Women

The economic role of women was the main focus of 48 (9.9%) of the 486 non-fiction reports. Nearly three-fifths (28 or 58.3%) were published in the tens, slightly more than two-fifths (20 or 41.7%) in the twenties. There is no real difference in the proportion of these reports expressing qualified or unqualified approval (35.7% in the tens, 35.0% in the twenties) or disapproval (3.6% in the tens, none in the twenties) of women's increasing economic independence in the twenties as opposed to the tens. The most substantial difference is a shift in the twenties away from simply acknowledging the issue (39.3% in the tens, 15.0% in the twenties) and toward providing a balanced, objective, yet still neutral account (21.4% in the tens, 45.0% in the twenties).

None of the *Cosmopolitan* reports focused primarily on women and economics over the two decades. Those from the *Journal* were clustered between 1916 and 1920 (often stressing women's contribution to the war effort) and between 1928 and 1930, with eight reports from 1930 concerned primarily with that role. No pattern is evident in the publication of economic reports in *Atlantic* or the *Post*.

Seventeen (85%) of the 20 reports of the twenties with a primarily economic focus were written by women (one was written by a man; two were editorials); whereas only eight (28.6%) of the 28 economic

reports of the tens had female authors (12 were written by men; eight were editorials). The general data show an increase in the percent of reports by women in the twenties; however, the attitudes expressed by women do not differ from those expressed by men in these reports over the two decades.

Four of six other reports focusing equally on the political and economic roles of women give balanced, objective, yet neutral accounts of the increasing economic independence of women. All four are from the twenties. One, by a male author, appeared in the *Post* in 1921 and emphasized the role of the war in advancing women's economic opportunities. The other three are those by Elizabeth Frazer from the *Journal* in 1922.[71]

In addition to the 48 reports focusing primarily on the economic role of women and the four reports with a political-economic focus which addressed this issue, 111 other reports express some attitude about women's increasing economic independence. The majority of these (65 or 58.6%) were published in the twenties. As with similar evidence regarding women's increasing political awareness and/or involvement discussed above, the data show a tendency in the twenties away from explicit approval (34.8% in the tens, 23.1% in the twenties) and a slight increase in the twenties in the percent of reports expressing qualified or unqualified disapproval of women's increasing economic independence (16.9% vs. 8.7% in the tens). Again, this tendency away from approval is the reverse of the stereotypical idea that mass media explicitly encouraged the growing independence of women in the twenties. In both decades, a majority of the reports concerned only secondarily or marginally with the increasing economic independence of women either simply acknowledge it as a fact or give a balanced, objective and neutral account. There was a slight tendency for this to be more true in the twenties than in the tens (23 or 50% in the tens, 37 or 56.9% in the twenties). The attitudes expressed in these 111 reports are proportionally similar in most respects to those expressed in the 48 reports with a primarily economic focus.

Comments regarding married women working outside their homes occur in 85 (17.5%) of the 486 reports, and most of these (50 or 58.8%) were published in the twenties. The evidence here shows approval in a larger percentage of reports of the twenties than in those of the tens (34.3% in the tens, 42% in the twenties) with a

corresponding decrease in the percentage of reports of the twenties expressing some disapproval (25.7% in the tens vs. 16% in the twenties).

More (35) of these reports came from the *Journal* than from any other magazine. *Atlantic* and *Cosmopolitan* published the majority of the reports disapproving of married women working outside the home (7 and 6 respectively). Six of the seven *Atlantic* disapprovals were published in the tens; the six *Cosmopolitan* disapprovals were published in the twenties. The *Journal* and the *Post* show a less negative attitude on this issue than either of the other two magazines.

Qualified or unqualified approval of married women working outside the home was not given *carte blanche*. For example, several of the reports from the tens indicating approval do so specifically because women workers were needed to aid the war effort or the post-war economy as long as they did not take men's jobs. In most instances, such employment was approved only as an emergency.[73] However, it is also true that some authors who approved of the situation during the war encouraged its continuation after the war.[74]

In both the tens and the twenties authors often made an exception for mothers of young children.[75] In addition, the productive life of a working woman was viewed by some authors as an extension of women's basic concern with home and family. In these cases, although the explicit attitude was approval, a career without marriage (but not the reverse) was viewed as a human failure:

> However great may be the success of a woman in the professions, the price is too high if she must forgo marriage and the raising of a family. Professional women generally miss the home-making activities of their married sisters and regret the incompleteness of their personal experience. They admit the richest life includes the normal family relationships. . . .[76]

Only two (9.5%) of the 21 reports of the twenties which approve of married women having a career outside their homes do so specifically because such a career encourages women's self-development, and one of these sees a career as a less than ideal solution to the problem of women's underachievement.[77]

Other than the question of married women working outside their homes, the only specific economic issue which was a repeated concern of the magazines was equal pay for equal work. Thirty-seven

(7.6%) of the 486 reports commented on the issue, 22 (59.5%) in the tens and 15 (40.5%) in the twenties, with a slightly higher percent of reports from the twenties than from the tens expressing approval (46.7% vs. 31.8% in the tens). None of the reports which deal with the issue of wage discrimination claim that women work only for enough money to purchase luxuries. Some only hint at the fact that women did not work chiefly for "pin money" but mostly because the money was needed for family support. Other writers were more explicit, as evidenced in a 1921 *Atlantic* article in which the author comments:

> Women work in factories, not primarily for the joy of working, but because they must earn a living, for themselves, and often for others. In too many instances they have had neither joy, nor enough earnings for a living. Managers employ them because they need their labor, and, often, because they want it cheap.[78]

Like the data on the political role of women, the evidence from the nonfiction reports on women's economic role shows paradoxical tendencies. Fewer reports with a mainly economic focus were published in the twenties as opposed to the tens, but more of those published in the twenties were written by women. Expressed attitudes regarding approval and disapproval of women's increasing economic independence did not change appreciably from one decade to the other; a higher percent of reports of the twenties were balanced and objective .

Reports with a secondary or marginal economic focus appeared more frequently in the twenties than in the tens, but in the twenties explicit approval decreased and explicit disapproval increased. Also in the twenties, although there was some increase in the percent of these reports which acknowledged women's increasing economic independence as fact, there was a decrease in balanced, objective accounts.

The cumulative data regarding married women working outside their homes show a lower per cent of explicit disapproval and a correspondingly higher per cent of explicit approval in the twenties than in the tens, but the context generally limits approval to jobs and careers which can be harmonized with what was viewed as woman's natural role as wife and mother.

With respect to the economic independence of women, the magazines show a slightly more conservative trend than they do even with regard to women's increasing political awareness or involvement. In

light of the census data presented in the discussion of the economic portrayal of women in fiction, the nonfiction reports of the magazines, like the short stories in the fiction sample, appear to underrepresent the realities of women's increasing economic independence even more in the twenties than in the tens. Particularly *Atlantic* and *Cosmopolitan* tend to underplay both the political and economic roles of women in their nonfiction reports for both decades; while the *Journal* and the *Post* not only address these issues but offer most of the support expressed in the four magazines for women's expanding roles.

NONFICTION: SOCIAL PORTRAYAL

Women's social role is the sole focus of 287 (59.1%) of the 486 nonfiction reports, 126 (43.9%) of these having been published in the tens and 161 (56.1%) in the twenties. Discussion of the social role of women includes, however, a broad spectrum of topics from higher education to the latest fashion in dress, or from motherhood to women and crime. Thus, distinctions can be made among the magazines according to some of the aspects of women's social role which recurred in the nonfiction reports over the two decades.

For example, most of *Cosmopolitan*'s socially focused reports concern marriage-family-homemaking, woman's nature, manners and morals, and beauty and fashion. Of the socially focused reports published in *Atlantic*, a majority concern manners and morals, women's education (usually college), and marriage-family-homemaking, in that order. A similar ranking of the relevant *Journal* reports shows manners and morals, the education of women and motherhood comprising the majority of socially focused reports. The *Post* published a greater per cent of such reports on beauty and fashion than on any other single subject, followed by articles on manners and morals and on marriage-family-homemaking.

Cosmopolitan, the *Journal*, and the *Post* published more articles on manners and morals in the twenties than in the tens; whereas *Atlantic* published 15 of its 18 articles on this topic in the tens and only three in the twenties. Only on this topic do the data from *Atlantic* distinguish it from the more widely circulated magazines with respect to the distribution of socially focused reports over the two decades.

General statements regarding women's increasing social freedom occur in 205 (42.2%) of the 486 nonfiction reports, with most of these (125 or 61%) having been published in the twenties. As with evidence discussed above, the data here show no greater tendency in the twenties as opposed to the tens toward explicit approval of women's increasing social liberation. Rather, the evidence shows a tendency in the twenties away from unqualified and qualified approval (40.3% in the tens, 28.8% in the twenties), while the proportion of reports of the twenties expressing disapproval (32%) increased slightly as opposed to the tens (25%).

As might be expected, no single report comments on every dimension of women's social role. In addition, some nonfiction reports not primarily concerned with women's social role do express such attitudes. These are discussed here taking external elements first.

External Elements of Women's Social Role

Education, marriage, the family and related issues (*e.g.* divorce, birth control), as well as fashion, athletics, smoking, drinking and the use of cosmetics are among the items included as external elements of women's social role. In some ways, comments about marriage and motherhood might be expected to reflect internal as well as external dimensions, but, discussion of these issues most frequently occurs in a manner distinctive from that concerning such central internal elements as the nature of woman.

Any change in women's personal freedom would very likely affect their role within marriage and the family more immediately and intensely than would changes in any other aspect of their social role because the family traditionally was women's primary sphere of influence. That is to say, other external dimensions like education, fashion and athletics touch on less central parts of woman's traditional social role than do perceptions regarding her role as wife and mother. In the magazines generally, even such internal elements as the nature of woman or preferred personality characteristics were frequently discussed largely without dealing with how changes in these areas might affect interpersonal relationships within marriage or outside it.

Of the 486 nonfiction reports, 180 (37%) express some attitude

toward marriage and/or motherhood, 80 in the tens and 100 in the twenties. The evidence here shows some modification of views about marriage and motherhood in reports of the twenties as opposed to those of the tens. For example, a smaller percent of reports of the twenties denotes marriage and motherhood as woman's hightest achievement without which she is somehow incomplete as a human being (14% vs. 27.5% in the tens). Correspondingly, the data for the twenties show slight increases in the percents of total reports viewing neither marriage nor motherhood as necessarily fulfilling or natural for every woman (9% vs. 5% in the tens) and the reports discussing marriage as a partnership (10% vs. 2.5% in the tens). The shift in the twenties away from extreme idealization of woman in her role within the family is a strong tendency supporting the traditional historical claim that magazines advocated less restricted social roles for women in the twenties as opposed to the tens.

However, the data also show a slight increase in the percent of reports of the twenties which view marriage or motherhood as a natural part of women's fulfillment (61% vs. 57.5% in the tens). The contexts of such reports strongly affirm the traditional opinion of marriage and motherhood even though the affirmation is not stated in the same explicitly extreme language as those reports which view marriage and motherhood as woman's "highest fulfillment," or "greatest achievement." For example, one 1923 *Cosmopolitan* report states: "But the subconscious and basic motive of all human actions is to follow nature's laws; in the case of woman, this means to secure a mate and to reproduce."[79]

Ironically, although woman's role as mother is considered as most natural, pregnancy, to the extent it is even mentioned in the reports, is viewed as an illness making her physically unattractive and mentally abnormal.[80] Furthermore, the tendency toward viewing marriage as a partnership does not necessarily mean that woman's basic role as wife and mother was significantly altered, but only that greater emphasis was placed upon the mutual responsibility of mother and father in the raising of children.

Thus, while the evidence concerning authors' explicit attitudes toward marriage and/or motherhood shows some encouragement for a more liberated role for wives and mothers in the twenties than in the tens, the encouragement is usually circumscribed within clear limits which modify somewhat women's role within the family.

However there is measurable movement toward expanding the boundaries of women's role in the twenties. The slightly changing attitudes evident in the reports of the twenties seem to provide the magazines with a compromise solution to the problem of how to provide stimulating, attractive discussion of current topics without minimizing deeply held values and thus alienating their readers.

Only 69 (14.2%) of the 486 nonfiction reports contain any comment on divorce, and most of these (49 or 71%) were published during the twenties. The most marked changes between the tens and the twenties in this respect are found in the decrease in the twenties in the per cent of reports which simply acknowledge the fact of divorce without expressing any attitude (30.6% in the twenties vs. 40% in the tens) and the appearance in the twenties of reports expressing approval of divorce but only in extreme cases (16.3% in the twenties vs. no such reports in the tens). As with attitudes expressed regarding marriage and/or motherhood, the data here are in the direction of less restriction in the twenties, but the parameters confining the social role with regard to divorce are only slightly expanded in the twenties.

A graphic example of the extent to which some authors limited their approval of divorce even in extreme cases is evident in the following excerpt from a 1928 *Journal* article in which the author approves of divorce only as a "drastic remedy":

> No two human beings who have really ceased to care for each other or who are actually repugnant to each other should, under any conceivable circumstances, be forced to live together in the intimacy that marriage entails. Such a relationship is the lowest form of degradation; it is a violation of the immutable right of individual integrity, and voluntary prostitution is a far higher estate. . . . But divorce as a cure for the ills of married life has about the same result as cutting off one's head to cure a headache.[81]

Most (five of the eight) of the reports expressing approval of divorce but only in extreme cases were published in *Atlantic*, but no appreciable differences among the four magazines are evident on any other attitudinal dimension of this item.

Only 22 (4.5%) of the 486 nonfiction reports make any statement about birth control, and most (18 or 81.8%) of these were published in the twenties. Since so few reports of the tens reflect any attitude on this subject it is impossible to make any meaningful comparisons between the decades. In one sense, the increase in the

number of comments on birth control in the twenties suggests a greater openness to dealing with the issue. Yet, the attitudes expressed in the twenties show a slightly stronger tendency toward disapproval (50%) than approval (33.3%).

Eleven of the 22 comments on birth control appeared in *Cosmopolitan*, and 10 of the 11 appeared during the twenties. Seven of the comments were published in *Atlantic*, three in the *Post*, and one in the *Journal*. To the extent that any comparisons can be made among the magazines on this issue (*i.e.* basically between *Cosmopolitan* and *Atlantic*), no appreciable difference in attitudes expressed is evident.

Disapproval of birth control is most frequently linked to authors' perceptions of woman's maternal instinct, and the following excerpt from a 1929 *Cosmopolitan* article is typical of the reasoning used to support rejection of birth control in any form:

> Every normal woman craves a child. She should have as many as she can bear. Her willing desire, impelled by maternal love, a quality unique in all the wide expanse of the universe, must find fulfillment in plentious offspring redounding in countless blessings to herself and her nation.
>
> The sad woman is the unmarried maiden who longs and craves for children, and sees little hope.[22]

Only three reports mentioned abortion during the twenty-year period under study. All three were from *Atlantic*, one in 1916, two in 1930. All three disapproved of abortion without qualification.

Ninety-two (18.9%) of the 486 reports comment in some way on formal education for women. This includes 29 reports whose central concern is the education of women. Comments regarding women's education occurred in 45 reports of the tens and 47 reports of the twenties, roughly equal. The direction of the data here is toward an increase in the proportion of reports expressing unqualified approval in the twenties as opposed to the tens (29.8% vs. 22.2% in the tens), but the evidence does show a decrease in qualified approvals in the twenties as opposed to the tens (23.4% vs. 28.9% in the tens). In addition, there is a tendency in the twenties toward simply acknowledging the fact that women were receiving education (27.6%, 22.2% in the tens), perhaps a sign that the topic was no longer so controversial in the twenties, but the evidence is not sufficient to suggest this with great confidence.

As in the fiction sample, the per cent of nonfiction reports men-

tioning smoking, drinking or the use of cosmetics is relatively small (less than 5% in each case), making comparisons impossible. For both the fiction and nonfiction, the data do not support the stereotypical notion that the magazines encouraged women in any one of these areas to any measurable extent.

In summary regarding the external elements related to women's social role, the general tendencies are toward reinforcement of traditional values. The clearest exception to this concerns explicit attitudes regarding women's education which show an increase in the twenties in simple acknowledgement and a decrease in qualified approval. On elements concerned with marriage, the family or related issues, the modification of idealism in the twenties is counterbalanced by increases in reports viewing marriage and motherhood as women's natural role.

Internal Elements of Women's Social Role

The central internal index of women's social role which was common to the greatest number of nonfiction reports is the author's explicit assessment of the nature of woman. Of the 486 reports, 153 (31.5%) comment on the nature of women, with slightly more than half of these (53.6%) having been published in the tens. In both decades nearly half the comments view women as by nature intuitive, emotional, maternal, physically weak, concerned with the particular and personal, and subject to man. The difference by decades (49.3% vs. 48.8% in the tens) is inconsequential.

The second largest group of comments on the nature of women includes those reports which appealed to women's natural "femininity" or "womanliness" without specifying its elements, although the context usually implies traditional associations of gentleness and passivity. Again, there is no meaningful difference between the tens and the twenties (22.5% vs. 19.5% in the tens).

A third dimension of woman's nature which slightly modified the traditional stereotype includes comments which view women as basically intuitive, emotional, maternal, yet equal to man, though different. The third largest group of comments occurred on this dimension, again showing no real difference between the decades. Eight of the 153 reports focus on natural similarities between the sexes, men and women being viewed as equals, seven published dur-

ing the tens. Five reports view women as basically emotional and maternal, yet rational. Four, all published during the tens, describe women as naturally superior to man. Two reports view women as basically not maternal, both published during the twenties, one in *Atlantic* and one in the *Journal*.[83]

Comments concerning the nature of woman show no meaningful change in the twenties as opposed to the tens and, like the evidence from the short stories, lends no support for the hypothesis that magazines of the twenties viewed women as more socially liberated than did magazines of the tens. Rather, the data suggest that nonfiction reports of both decades supported the traditional stereotype regarding woman's nature.

Authors' attitudes toward women's intelligence show slightly contradictory tendencies. Of the 486 reports, 108 (22.2%) comment on the intelligence of women with a rough comparison indicating the tendency in the twenties toward a reinforcement of traditional qualities.

The data do not necessarily suggest that women of the tens were encouraged more than those of the twenties to be independent, self-actualizing persons. The frequent praise of efficiency in the tens was usually related to women's role within the family, and the connection of efficiency with housekeeping seems to be a popularized, domestic version of Frederick Winslow Taylor's ideal of scientific management.[84] Thus reports of the twenties generally show no markedly greater tendency than do those of the tens toward praising qualities in women which might be associated with greater freedom and independence, contrary to the hypothesis that magazines of the twenties encouraged their liberation.

Correspondingly, reports of the twenties tend more than those of the tens to lament women's selfishness or self-indulgence, lack of refinement, complacency, jealousy, lack of modesty, lack of self-respect and increasing materialism. Qualities such as incompetence, irresponsibility and immaturity are interpreted as traits which would contribute toward restricting women; yet these qualities are criticized slightly less frequently in the twenties than in the tens. Thus the reports show no greater tendency in the twenties to lament traits that would limit women's personal development. The twenties show an increase in the per cent of reports viewing women as mentally inferior to men (16% vs. 5.2% in the tens); yet, the twenties

also show a decrease in the per cent of reports explicitly focusing on the different intellectual capabilities of men and women which result from their different sexual natures (2% vs. 15.5% in the tens). Witness this excerpt from a 1927 *Cosmopolitan* report: "Tell her [woman] that she has a wonderful intellect, and she will reward you with a wintry smile. But let the world proclaim that she has sex-appeal, and she blooms like a rose with happiness."[85]

A wide variety of personal qualities was viewed as desirable or undesirable for women in the nonfiction reports. Self-sacrifice and efficiency were the most frequently praised qualities over the 20-year period, but with a light tendency for self-sacrifice to be praised more frequently in the twenties (24.7% vs. 19.2% in the tens) and for efficiency and competence to be praised more frequently in the tens (28.8% vs. 15.1% in the twenties). In terms of frequency, the top five qualities most desirable in women according to nonfiction reports of the tens are: efficiency, self-sacrifice, economy, charm and intelligence in that order; for the twenties, self-sacrifice, charm, refinement, intelligence and efficiency. Only 15 (3.1%) of the 486 reports refer to women as specifically mysterious or incomprehensible, 11 in the tens, four in the twenties, a slight shift in the twenties away from idealizing women. Five reports explicitly undercut the concept of woman as mystery, three in the tens, two in the twenties. Four of the five were published in *Atlantic*.

The data regarding specific external and internal elements related to the nonfiction portrayal of women in their social role show, in many cases, an increase in discussion of these issues in magazines of the twenties, but with no real tendencies toward approving emancipation for women. Most of the evidence reinforces traditional views, those describing woman's nature as maternal, emotional, intuitive, self-sacrificing and submissive in her primary role as wife and mother.

Slight modifications of traditional stereotypes do occur on some items in the twenties. For example, marriage and family as part of women's natural fulfillment are treated within a slightly less idealistic context than in the tens. Attitudes toward divorce show a tendency toward increased approval, at least in extreme cases. A decline in the number of reports in the twenties which treat women as mysterious or incomprehensible suggests that reports of the

twenties considered women in a less idealistic sense than did earlier reports.

As noted earlier in this section, the strongest evidence showing encouragement for the liberation of women is that concerning education, as was true of the fiction. Nonfiction reports of the twenties not only tend to approve rather than disapprove of advanced education for women, but also indicate less concern with teaching domestic science than do reports of the tens and focus on the benefits of a practical education in preparing women for work—at least until they are married.

However, explicit attitudes of the twenties affirm even more strongly than those of the tens the idea that woman is mentally inferior.

As to women's nature and personal qualities, in both decades a traditional perspective is shown with a nearly equal frequency but undesirable traits are depicted with greater frequency in the twenties than in the tens.

In the nonfiction, women's social role is discussed more frequently in the twenties than in the tens, but, like the data from the nonfiction reports on women's political and economic roles, the evidence shows a basically conservative trend in the twenties.

As with the fiction, it is difficult to compare the discussion of women's social role in the nonfiction with what was happening in women's real lives. Magazine reports of the twenties do acknowledge the increasing divorce rate and the wider use of birth control, real changes reflected in census data. They also acknowledge the growing popularity of cosmetics and, to a lesser extent, companionate marriage. But acknowledgement is not synonymous with approval.

Some reports do approve the changes in women's roles, but support for more traditional life styles is generally at least as frequent in the twenties as in the tens, as suggested in the following excerpt from a 1928 *Journal* report:

> (W)hen the wild-oat girl of the present moment begins to harvest what she has sown with such honest courage, and is brought by force of circumstances to do a little thinking for herself, she will cast aside her synthetic character and make back for the sheltered places in life, made comfortable and safe by conventions and experience, because she will find that it is easier and more convenient to live there even if it is less thrilling and adventurous.[86]

Authors of nonfiction reports did not wear blinders concerning contemporary changes in manners and morals, but they seem to have resisted those changes, for the most part, particularly when women's "natural instincts" toward marriage and family were threatened.

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to describe and analyze the political, economic and social portrayal of women in selected magazines from 1911 to 1930 to determine the extent to which those magazines portrayed or encouraged the emancipated woman, particularly during the twenties. The study tested two assumptions: one, frequently made by writers commenting on the twenties, that magazines of that decade extensively portrayed and/or encouraged the emancipation of women in their political, economic or social roles; and a second, suggested by Peterson, that commercial magazines are essentially conservative and tend to maintain the status quo.

The burden of the evidence shows no marked tendency on the part of the four magazines studied to portray the flapper or the politically, economically and socially liberated woman in the twenties as typical of American women or even as an ideal. The evidence thus supports Peterson's view. Indeed, a comparison of the portrayal of women in the tens and the twenties suggests, at most, only a slightly modified view of the traditional stereotypes, not only on specific issues but also in general attitudes.

As Peterson's thesis suggests and as this examination shows, many traditional norms and values are reinforced and a few innovations are introduced. But the fiction and the nonfiction underrepresent the role of women in politics and economics in the tens and the twenties. And, although the magazines gave much attention to women's social role in both decades, most of the evidence shows a reinforcement in the twenties of long-standing views regarding the social role considered appropriate for women rather than any clear tendency toward portraying or encouraging women's social emancipation.

To the extent that fictional and nonfictional accounts of the political, economic and social roles of women could be compared

with women's real experiences in these areas of their lives, both tended to underrepresent women's real activity and accomplishments in politics and economics and to limit women's major social goals to those most closely related to marriage and family.

The evidence from the magazines must be seen within the limitations imposed by the initial selection of short stories and nonfiction for analysis. The conclusions reached apply to and are supported by evidence only from these portions of the magazines. A study of serialized novels or advertising, for example, might or might not confirm the conclusions of this study.

Why do these data run counter to the opinions stated in historical accounts of the twenties? Besides commentators' possible selective memories, the magazines themselves may have given birth to the idea in articles like the following, published in the *Post* in 1930, which stated in part:

> It is the woman writer who is tearing away the veil from any secrets of life in magazines and reviews and novels, with a candor, a ruthlessness, a lack of reticence, which is alarming and sometimes horrifying, and sometimes—it must be admitted—convincingly true in its revelation of tragic facts which somehow must be altered. It is the mind of modern women—these postwar women—which is at work in civilization today, razing old foundations of tradition, altering the code of conduct, taking the lead in social reform—which may be the way to social destruction—invading the last strongholds of men and denying them their ancient privileges.[87]

Also, to some extent, the magazines themselves may have helped to promulgate the idea, later perpetuated by historians and others, that the roots of women's changing roles were to be found in World War I. The same writer asserted that during the war women were liberated "from the social restrictions, the mental confinement and the moral boundaries" within which they'd been kept by Puritan tradition. In short, "The war smashed their sheltered lives."[88]

It may be, as suggested above, that parts of the magazines not studied here (*e.g.* serialized novels) gave a different picture, or that other magazines differed from the sample studied here, or that newspapers and films of the twenties were the media that advanced the emancipation of women. Were other "quality" magazines as conservative as *Atlantic*?

No attempt has been made here to analyze the portrayal of men in the magazines. Such a companion study might well provide in-

sights concerning the stereotyping of both sexes in popular fiction and nonfiction reports.

The decade of the twenties, as Elizabeth Stevenson has written, "was a time of intense, almost unbearable contradiction."[89] And something of the real-life contradiction is reflected in short stories and nonfiction reports published in *Atlantic, Cosmopolitan, Ladies' Home Journal* and *Saturday Evening Post*. Some evidence in the four magazines shows slight inclinations toward portraying or encouraging the emancipation of women in the twenties, but they are generally rare and weak in the data for the twenties and not significantly different from the portrayal during the tens. Given the slow, evolutionary process of change and the need of the magazines not to antagonize or alienate readers by supporting changes inimical to readers' basic values, reinforcing traditional role expectations in most aspects of women's lives, with occasional departures from this perspective, was perhaps the most congenial posture for these magazines to assume.

NOTES

1. Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday* (New York: Harper & Row, 1931, 1959), pp. 73, 79, 94. Burl Noggle, "The Twenties: A New Historiographical Frontier," *Journal of American History*, 53 (September 1966), p. 300. For other discussions of relationships between enfranchisement and women's economic and social liberation see also: Charles and Mary Beard, The Rise of American Civilization, vol. II: *The Industrial Era* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927, 1954), p. 754; William E. Leuchtenburg, *The Perils of Prosperity, 1914-1932* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), pp. 158, 160, 168, and Preston William Slosson, *The Great Crusade and After, 1914-1928* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930), pp. 130-34, 157, 160.

2. Joseph Gusfield, "Prohibition: The Impact of Political Utopianism," in John Braeman, Robert Bremner and David Brody, eds., *Change and Continuity in Twentieth-Century America: The 1920s* (Ohio State University Press, 1968), pp. 271, 278; Gilman Ostrander, "The Revolution in Morals," in Braeman, *et al., ibid.* pp. 339; William Henry Chafe, *The American Woman* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 49.

3. Theodore Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964), 2nd ed., p. 445.

4. See especially Joseph R. Dominick and Gail E. Rauch, "The Image of

Women in Network TV Commercials," *Journal of Broadcasting*, 16 (Summer 1972), pp. 259-65; Judith Hole and Ellen Levine, *Rebirth of Feminism* (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1971); Alice Embree, "Media Images I: Madison Avenue Brainwashing—The Facts," in Robin Morgan, ed. *Sisterhood is Powerful* (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), pp. 175-91; Florika, "Media Images II: Body Odor and Social Order," *ibid.*, pp. 191-7.

5. Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1963).

6. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

7. For example, Cornelia B. Flora, "The Passive Female," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 33 (August 1971), 435-44; Heather Sperry, "Changing Images of Women: A Content Analysis of Short Stories in Women's Magazines," unpublished M.S. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1970.

8. Studies concerned with early media portrayal of women include: Ruth Inglis, "An Objective Approach to the Relationship Between Fiction and Society," *American Sociological Review*, 3 (August 1938), pp. 526-33; Bernard Berelson and Patricia Salter, "Majority and Minority Americans: An Analysis of Magazine Fiction," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 10 (Summer 1946), pp. 168-90 (useful for technique); Patricke Johns-Heine and Hans Gerth, "Values in Mass Periodical Fiction, 1921-1940," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 13 (Spring 1949), pp. 105-13; Michael Albrecht, "Does Literature Reflect Common Values?" *American Sociological Review*, 21 (December 1956), pp. 722-29; R. W. England, "Images of Love and Courtship in Family-Magazine Fiction," *Marriage and Family Living*, 22 (May 1960), pp. 162-65; Donald R. Makosky, "The Portrayal of Women in Wide-Circulation Magazine Short Stories, 1905-1955," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1966.

9. The *Post* and *Ladies' Home Journal* led their classes in circulation and advertising revenue during the period of this study. *Cosmopolitan* led all monthly competitors except women's magazines during most of the two decades. Although *Atlantic Monthly*'s circulation was occasionally below that of its nearest competitors (*Scribner's* and *Harper's Monthly*) during the two decades, its editorial policy was more consistent and its circulation growth generally steadier. Consult Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, vol. IV: *1885-1905* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1957); Peterson, *op. cit.*; N. W. Ayer & Son, *American Newspaper Annual and Directory* (Philadelphia, 1910-1950).

10. James R. McGovern, "The American Woman's Pre-World War I Freedom in Manners and Morals," *Journal of American History*, 55 (September 1968), pp. 315-33.

11. Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle* (New York: Atheneum, 1959, 1972), pp. 248-93.

12. Further validation of short story choice was made by taking indexed issues of a magazine at random and first determining the number of short stories by the paging-and-listing method. Subsequently, this list was compared with the magazine index. The high degree of agreement between the two suggests that the paging-and-listing method was both reliable and valid.

13. For relevant discussions of various sampling techniques see: Earl R. Babbie,

The Practice of Social Research (Belmont, Calif. Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1979), pp. 177-85; Hubert M. Blalock, *Social Statistics* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972), pp. 510-25; Charles M. Dollar and Richard J. Jensen, *Historian's Guide to Statistics* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), pp. 12-15. Since some of the evidence presented in this study does not reach statistical significance but does show strong tendencies in one direction or another, it is important to note, as Dollar and Jensen indicate (pp. 14-15), that, in historical studies, strong tendencies or patterns in the data can be more valid than tests of significance.

14. See especially Donald M. Broverman, *et al.*, "Roles of Activation and Inhibition in Sex Differences in Cognitive Abilities," *Psychological Review*, 75 (Januray 1968), pp. 23-50; Sperry, *op. cit.*; Berelson and Salter, *op. cit.*; Johns-Heine and Gerth, *op. cit.* The coding instrument is available from the author on request.

15. Gouverneur Morris, "Suffrage in the Wild-Wood," *Cosmopolitan*, 60 (March 1916), p. 497.

16. Royal Brown, "Hash and Moth Balls," *Ladies' Home Journal (LHJ)*, 35 (January 1918), p. 11.

17. The *z* test for proportions was used here and for most of the data. Of the five stories not included, one was written by a husband-wife team and four were by authors whose sex could not be ascertained.

18. For example, Broverman, *et. al.*, *op. cit.*; Janice P. Gump, "Sex-Role Attitudes and Psychological Well-Being," *Journal of Social Issues*, 28:2 (1972), pp. 79-92; Sandra L. Bem and Daryl J. Bem, "Case Study of a Nonconscious Ideology: Training the Woman to Know Her Place," in Daryl J. Bem, *Beliefs, Attitudes and Human Affairs* (Belmont, Calif.; Brooks/Cole Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 89-99.

19. Alice Brown, "The Man and the Militant," *Atlantic*, 112 (August 1913), pp. 145-56.

20. Gouverneur Morris, "Suffrage . . .," p. 494. *Cf.* Cornelia Comer, "Clarissa's Own Child," *Atlantic*, 109 (June 1912), pp. 739-57; and Elsie Singmaster, "The Suffrage in Millerstown," *Saturday Evening Post (SEP)*, 184 (March 16, 1912), pp. 10f.

21. George Kibbe Turner, "The Milk Bath and the Card Catalogue," *SEP*, 196 (Sept. 29, 1923), pp. 16f.

22. Richard Washburn Child, "With a Letter from Trotzky," *SEP*, 191 (April 26, 1919), pp. 10f; Eugenie Courtright, "Death Song," *Atlantic*, 145 (May 1930), pp. 637-49; Irvin S. Cobb, "Hoodwinked," *SEP*, 192 (July 19, 1919), pp. 8f, and Grace Ellery Channing, "The Years of a Man," *SEP*, 191 (Aug. 31, 1918), 9f, respectively.

23. Clarence Budington Kelland, "By-Products," *LHJ*, 47 (October 1930), pp. 24f.

24. Examples include: Emma Lawrence, "At Thirty," *Atlantic*, 128 (September 1921), pp. 364-75; Kathleen Norris, "The Way to Men's Hearts," *Cosmopolitan*, 82 (February 1927), pp. 74f, Meredith Nicholson, "The Honorable Archie," *SEP*, 186 (Nov. 8, 1913), pp. 16f; George Randolph Chester, "The Peanut Hull," *SEP*, 191 (March 22, 1919), pp. 5f. The exception is Clarence Budington Kelland, "The Bleating of the Lamb," *Cosmopolitan*, 46 (September 1929), 26f.

25. David Graham Phillips, "The Bribe," *Cosmopolitan*, 50 (January 1911), p. 245.

26. The stories are respectively: Catherine Wells, "The Robe de Boudoir," *Atlantic*, 132 (September 1923), p. 324; Phyllis Duganne, "The Girl With the Cough," *LHJ*, 36 (June 1919), p. 13, and Charles Brackett, "Domestic Relations," *SEP*, 196 (Nov. 10, 1923), p. 72.

27. Although these data may be volatile, the trend is clear. See also Dollar and Jensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

28. See, e.g., Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper, *The History of Woman Suffrage, vol. IV* (Indianapolis: The Hollenback Press, 1902), p. xxii.

29. Mary Beard, "The Legislative Influence of Unenfranchised Women," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (AAAPSS)*, 56 (November 1914), pp. 55-6.

30. Aileen Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1965), pp. 5-6.

31. James J. Kenneally, "Women and Trade Unions 1870-1920: The Quandary of the Reformer," *Labor History*, 14 (Winter 1973), p. 54.

32. For example, Anna Howard Shaw, "Equal Suffrage: A Problem of Political Justice," *AAAPSS*, 56 (November 1914), pp. 96, 97.

33. The eleven in order of the date of legislation were: 1890: Wyoming; 1893: Colorado; 1896: Idaho, Utah; 1910: Washington; 1911: California; 1912: Arizona, Kansas, Oregon; 1914: Montana, Nevada.

34. Florence Kelley, "Women and Social Legislation in the United States," *AAAPSS*, 56 (November 1914), p. 64; Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, *Women in the Twentieth Century* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1933), p. 245. Illinois was one exception.

35. Simon N. Patten, "The Evolution of a New Woman," *AAAPSS*, 56 (November 1914), p. 115; Katharine Stevenson, "The Greatest Foe of Woman Suffrage," in Shailer Mathews, ed., *The Woman Citizen's Library, Vol. 7* (Chicago: The Civics Society, 1914), p. 1770; Josephine Schain, *Women and the Franchise* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1918), p. 68.

36. Charles E. Merriam and Harold Foote Gosnell, *Non-Voting: Causes and Methods of Control* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924), pp. 26-7; Ben A. Arneson, "Non-Voting in a Typical Ohio Community," *American Political Science Review*, 19 (November 1925), p. 818; Stuart Rice, *Quantitative Methods in Politics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928), pp. 243-7. On the other hand, Breckinridge, *op. cit.*, pp 249-52, cited evidence from Chicago, Louisiana, Arizona and some other locales showing that women comprised an increasing per cent of registered voters over time.

37. Chafe, *op. cit.*, p. 29. *Cf.* Breckinridge, *op. cit.*, 262-4; Merle Curti, *et al.*, *A History of American Civilization* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), p. 638; J. Stanley Lemons, "Social Feminism in the 1920s," *Labor History*, 14 (Winter 1973), p. 88, for similar views.

38. Two major females appeared in 10 of the 300 sample stories, thus making their total 310: 156 from 1911-1920, and 154 from 1921-1930.

39. However, one of the two stories in which professional women direct their

own businesses is a 1929 *Journal* story in which the lawyer heroine, until the story's end, manages her own firm: Kelland, *op. cit.*: 1929.

40. Richard Matthews Hallet, "The Transient Woman," *SEP*, 197 (Jan. 31, 1925), pp. 8f.

41. The stories are respectively: Kelland, *op. cit.*: 1929, p. 227; and Elliott Flower, " At Last—The Perfect Gown," *LHJ*, 30 (March 1913), pp. 9f.

42. The stories are respectively: Clarkson Crane, "Snipe," *Atlantic*, 118 (November 1916), pp. 654-9; Ernest Poole, "A Knife for Her Husband," *Atlantic*, 146 (October 1930), pp. 525-8; Harry Leon Wilson, "A Love Story," *SEP*, 189 (Sept. 2, 1916), pp. 9f; Edna T. Muth, "Junior, of the Bathtub," *LHJ*, 33 (October 1916), pp. 23f; Mabel H. Urner, "The Unpublished Story," *Cosmopolitan*, 56 (May 1914), pp. 730-38; Sophie Kerr, "A Matter of Organization," *SEP*, 195 (March 17, 1923), pp. 10f.

43. Edna Ferber, "Sisters Under Their Skin," *Cosmopolitan*, 59 (August 1915), p. 308.

44. Laura Portor, "The Greater Art," *Atlantic*, 113 (March 1914), pp. 316-24.

45. The stories are, respectively: Gouverneur Morris, "Always Warm and Green," *Cosmopolitan*, 52 (March 1912), pp. 512-21; Elsie Singmaster, "Peasant Blood," *SEP*, 200 (April 28, 1928), pp. 5f; Edna Ferber, "Thanks to Miss Morrissey," *Cosmopolitan*, 58 (February 1915), 274-84; Mary Webb, "The Prize," *Atlantic, 133 (April 1924), pp. 468-71;* Joseph Lincoln, "The Luck Piece," *LHJ*, 43 (December 1926), pp. 3f. *Cf.* Hallet, *op. cit.*

46. Comer, *op. cit.*, p. 755.

47. The stories are, respectively: P. G. Wodehouse, "A Bit of All Right," *Cosmopolitan*, 69 (November 1920), pp. 77-86; Shirley Warde, "Being a Woman," *Cosomopolitan*, 84 (April 1928), pp. 42f; Royal Brown, "They Didn't Believe in Marriage," *Cosmopolitan*, 83 (October 1927), pp. 86f; Dana Burnett, "The Child," *SEP*, 198 (August 1925), pp. 12f.

48. Edna Ferber, "Mother Knows Best," *Cosmopolitan*, 78 (April 1925), pp. 28f. *Cf.* Thomas Beer, "Faith," *SEP*, 201 (April 6, 1929), pp. 10f.

49. Calvin Johnston, "Clay of Ca'lina," *SEP*, 195 (April 7, 1923), pp. 16f.

50. United States Bureau of the Census. *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1932).

51. Harry Leon Wilson, "The Porch Wren," *SEP*, 191 (July 20, 1918), p. 6.

52. The stories are, respectively: Fannie Hurst, "Marked Down," *SEP*, 185 (March 22, 1913), p. 12; Adela Rogers St. John, "Love o' Women," *Cosmopolitan*, 80 (February 1926), p. 74; Arnold Bennett, "Nine O'Clock Tomorrow!" *Cosmopolitan*, 72 (January 1922), p. 48; Virginia T. Van de Water, "The Tie That Binds," *Cosmopolitan*, 53 (August 1912), p. 418. *Cf.* Warde *op. cit.*; Bernice Brown, "The First Olive," *LHJ*, 43 (October 1926), pp. 10f.

53. See, for example, Allen, *op. cit.*; George E. Mowry, ed., *The Twenties* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), and Kenneth Yellis, "Prosperity's Child: Some Thoughts on the Flapper," *American Quarterly*, 21 (Spring 1969), pp. 44-64.

54. St. John, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

55. Arthur Munyan, "A Ring From London," *LHJ*, 46 (July 1929), p. 20.

56. Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

57. Warde, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

58. United States Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office 1960), pp. 211-12.

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 15, 22.

60. Robert S. and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1929), p. 125.

61. E. g., Slosson, *op. cit.*; Elizabeth Stevenson, *The American 1920s* (London: Collier-Macmillan, Ltd., 1967), pp. 139-42; and Chafe, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

62. Lynd and Lynd, *op. cit.*, pp. 498, 499.

63. Since analyses in this and the following section are based on the entire population of nonfiction included for study, no statistical tests have been performed on these data.

64. Editorial, *LHJ*, 27 (Nov. 1, 1910), p. 15; Editorial, "What Do We Mean By 'Nice'?" *LHJ*, 37 (November 1920), p. 1.

65. Respectively: Herbert Quick, "To Our Imperial Voteresses," *SEP*, 192 (Sept. 27, 1919), pp. 14f; Elizabeth Frazer, "Harnessing Industry with the Vote," *LHJ*, 39 (October 1922), pp. 24f; (November 1922), pp. 24f; (December 1922), pp. 29f.

66. E. g., Samuel M. Crothers, "Meditations on Votes for Women," *Atlantic*, 114 (October, 1914), pp. 538-46; Editorial, "Female Anti-Suffragettes," *SEP*, 184 (April 13, 1912), p. 26; William H. Taft, "Votes for Women," *SEP*, 188 (Sept. 11, 1915), pp. 3f.

67. E. g., R. S., "Women's Congress Against Women's Parties," *LHJ*, 40 (August 1923), pp. 25f; Ruth Pratt, "The Lady or the Tiger," *LHJ*, 45 (May 1928), pp. 8f; Elizabeth Marbury, "Women in Politics," *SEP*, 198 (Sept. 12, 1925), pp. 21f.

68. W. L. George, "Feminist Intensions [sic]," *Atlantic*, 112 (December 1913), pp. 721-32.

69. Agnes Repplier, "Women and War," *Atlantic*, 115 (May 1915), pp. 577-85.

70. E. g., Anon., "Fooling the Women in Politics," *LHJ*, 40 (September 1923), pp. 29f; Samuel G. Blythe, "Women in British Politics," *SEP*, 195 (March 24, 1923), pp. 38f; Katharine Dayton, "Why the Vote Doesn't Get Out," *SEP* 199 (Oct. 9, 1926), pp. 60f; Anon., "Are Women Counting in Politics?—Counted Out," *SEP*, 198 (July 18, 1925), p. 82.

71. See, for example, Mary Roberts Rinehart, "Waiting for the Stork," *LHJ*, 37 (August 1920), pp. 26-7; Charles A. Selden, "Women Voters Won't Stand for Partisan Slander and Abuse," *LHJ*, 39 (August 1922), pp. 8-9; Alice Ames Winter, "To Vote or Not to Vote," *LHJ*, 41 (October 1924), pp. 21f; Quick, *op. cit.*; Marbury, *op. cit.*

72. James H. Collins, "She Drifted to the City," *SEP*, 195 (Jan. 1, 1921), pp. 11f. See Note 65 *supra* for the Frazer articles.

73. For example, Gertrude Atherton, "When All Women Are Workers," *Cosmopolitan*, 66 (December 1918), pp. 58f; Dudley Harmon, "What Are These War Jobs for Women?" *LHJ*, 34 (November 1917), pp. 39f; Emily Newell Blair,

"Where Are We Women Going?" *LHJ*, 36 (March 1919), pp. 37f; Edward S. Martin, "A Father to His Graduate Girl," *Atlantic*, 119 (June 1917), p. 734.

74. E. G., Isaac F. Marcosson, "The After-the-War Woman," *LHJ*, 35 (July 1918), p. 16.

75. E. G., Ethel P. Howes, "Accepting the Universe," *Atlantic*, 129 (April 1922), pp. 444-53; Will Durant, "Our Changing Morals," *Cosmopolitan*, 84 (January 1928), pp. 92f; Zona Gale, "Is Housework Pushing Down the Birth Rate?" *LHJ*, 36 (May 1919), pp. 47f; Alice Ames Winter, "Careering Mothers," *LHJ*, 44 (November 1927), pp. 35f.

76. Louis Dublin, "Home-Making and Careers," *Atlantic*, 138 (September 1926), pp. 336-7. *Cf.* George Creel, "I Married An Electric Light Sign," *Cosmopolitan*, 77 (July 1924), p. 42; Grace Richmond, "Must Great Women Be Ruthless?—No!" *LHJ*, 45 (February 1928), pp. 33f.

77. Faith Fairfield, "Glandular Activity and Feminine Talent," *Atlantic*, 137 (June 1926), pp. 801-4, sees a career as less than ideal; Anne Morgan (interview), "Copycats," *SEP*, 201 (Oct. 6, 1928), pp. 16f.

78. Mary Van Kleeck, "Women and Machines," *Atlantic*, 127 (February 1921), p. 255. *Cf.* Emily Newell Blair, "Should a Woman Get a Man's Pay?" *LHJ*, 36 (April 1919), p. 156.

79. Elinor Glyn, "On Living with a Difficult Husband," *Cosmopolitan* 74 (January 1923), p. 55. *Cf.* William Johnston, "Is a Wife Ever Satisfied?" *Cosmopolitan*, 77 (August 1924), p. 35; George Dorsey, "How to Be Happy Though Married," *Cosmopolitan*, 84 (April 1928), p. 85; Josephine Daskam Bacon, "A Sermon on the Stork," *LHJ*, 47 (December 1930), p. 6.

80. For example, Elinor Glyn, "Is There a Danger Year in Marriage?" *Cosmopolitan*, 74 (February 1923), p. 85; Sarah C. Mott, "The Child That Is to Be," *LHJ*, 29 (January 1912), p. 6.

81. S. Josephine Baker, M.D., "Marriage from the Side Lines," *LHJ*, 43 (April 1926), p. 37.

82. Benito Mussolini, "I Tax Bachelors," *Cosmopolitan* 87 (July 1929), p. 81.

83. Anon., "The Abandoned Spinster," *Atlantic*, 129 (January 1922), pp. 80-84, and F. Scott Fitzgerald, "Imagination—and a Few Mothers," *LHJ*, 40 (June 1923), pp. 21f.

84. For a discussion of the changing emphases of Taylorism see Samuel Haber's *Efficiency and Uplift: Scientific Management in the Progressive Era, 1890-1925* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

85. Arthur Stringer, "Woman is Immodest! Dishonest! Vain!! Inconsistent!!!" *Cosmopolitan*, 83 (December 1927), p. 48.

86. Corra Harris, "The Synthetic Girl," *LHJ*, 45 (April 1928), p. 75.

87. Philip Gibbs, "The Unveiling of Women," *SEP*, 202 (Feb. 22, 1930), p. 106.

88. Ibid., p. 7. *Cf.* Mary Roberts Rinehart, "The Chaotic Decade," *LHJ*, 47 (May 1930), pp. 35f; Lilian Bell, "Old Maids of the Last Generation—and This," *SEP*, 199 (Dec. 25, 1926), pp. 18f; Brenda Ueland, "The Fast Mrs. Grundy," *SEP*, 201 (Oct. 13, 1928), pp. 18f, for similar views.

89. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, p. 242.